ANGLO-FRENCH BATTLES OF THE RENAISSANCE 1453-1618

An İllustrated Battle Register

by **JEAN-CLAUDE CASTEX**

To Philippe, my son-in-law

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OF THE
RENAISSANCE 1453-1618

An Illustrated Battle Register

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Cover : Henry VIII, the King who governed by the sword, by sundering of wedlock, and by seizure of estates.

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These Renaissance soldiers were dressed like itinerant actors, sporting feathers, ribbons, and colors as a flamboyant defiance of death. On the eve of battle, they looked less like an army than a theatre troupe — ready to act out the tragedy of a war in which they were both heroes and victims.

French Renaissance Helmet. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Alnwick.

Date of the Engagement: end of October 1462.

Location: City in England located 40 km from the Scottish border; 55° 25' North; 01° 42' West.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Edward IV of York-Plantagenêt was King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) King of France. Richard of York, Edward's cousin, laid claim to the throne. Throughout the thirty years of this civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses, the houses of Yorks and Lancaster alternately held power, their fortunes rising and falling with the tide of battle. The King of France supported the English Lancastrian [later Tudor] faction, while the House of York received aid from the French Duke of Burgundy. After the Battle of Towton, King Henry VI of England and Queen Margaret, accompanied by the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, fled to Scotland. In July 1461, Alnwick Castle surrendered to Lord Hastings and its garrison was released. Though defeated, Queen Margaret's spirit remained unbroken. The following spring she travelled to France to seek assistance from Louis XI. She secured a loan of £20,000 and permission to raise an Expeditionary Force under the command of Pierre de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of France. In October 1462, Margaret returned to Scotland with five hundred men and landed at the mouth of the Tyne. Alarmed by the dangers that awaited her, she re-embarked, but her squadron was caught in a violent storm and driven ashore along the coast near Bamburgh.

The Queen herself, however, reached Berwick-upon-Tweed safely[1]. The soldiers set fire to the wrecks and took refuge on Holy Island[2], but there they were attacked by the Bastard of Ogle and an esquire[3] named John Manners. Many were slain or captured — three hundred taken prisoner— though some managed to escape. Brézé himself fled with a few others in fishing boats. Undeterred, the Queen left her son at Berwick and marched into Northumberland with a force of Frenchmen and Scots, hoping that the Northumbrians would rise in her favor. Yet the peasants, weary and preoccupied with survival, had little interest in the aristocracy's ambitions. Supplies and artillery for her army came from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Meanwhile, King Edward IV remained at Durham, from where, on the last day of December, he ordered the Archbishop of York to warn all the clergy of the province to instruct their parishioners to resist the Scots —who, he declared, "were entering his realm not only to assist his enemies from France in their sieges, but also to make battle against him and seize his lands."

Opposing Commanders ♦ The French chiefs who commanded the siege were the grand seneschal Pierre de Brézé, Floquet and P. de Vieuchatel. Queen Margaret[4] commanded the Scottish contingent. ♦At the second siege, the English commanders were: Lord Falconbridge, the Earl of Kent and Lord Scale. The Earl of Warwick commanded the entire operation and his HQ was at Warkworth Castle.

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[1] Border of Scotland

[2] 7 km NW of Bamburgh or Bamborough.

[3] Esquire, from medieval French écuyer.

[4] Marguerite d'Anjou was born in 1430, probably at Pont-à-Mousson (Lorraine). She died in 1482 at Saumur. She was the queen consort of King Henry VI of England and the leader of the Lancastrians during the Wars of the Roses. She tried unsuccessfully to obtain the crown for his son Prince Edward [1353-1471]. She was the daughter of René I d'Anjou.

But he went round all these seats every day[5] to direct them. Sir Ralph Grey ran Alnwick Castle.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦2,000 French and Scottish Catholics had embarked on board the ships.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Queen Margaret tried to stir up the region in her favor but was unsuccessful. The siege was carried out by blockade, mines and counter-mines, assault by climbing with ladders, and even some siege artillery... As soon as the French Cavalry had finished embarking, on October 7, Pierre de Brézé left Honfleur and sailed for Northumberland where he was to link up with the Duke of Somerset. But, cautiously, the latter refused to move. The fort of Tynemouth fired on the French squadron, which landed troops to capture Bamborough, Dunstanburgh and finally Alnwick. Queen Margaret[6] laid siege to Alnwick Castle, which was under the command of Sir Ralph Grey, and blockaded it completely. She seized it either by famine or by the treachery of its governor. Bamborough, Dunstanburgh, and Warkworth also fell into her hands. She placed Franco-Anglo-Scottish garrisons in all these castles.

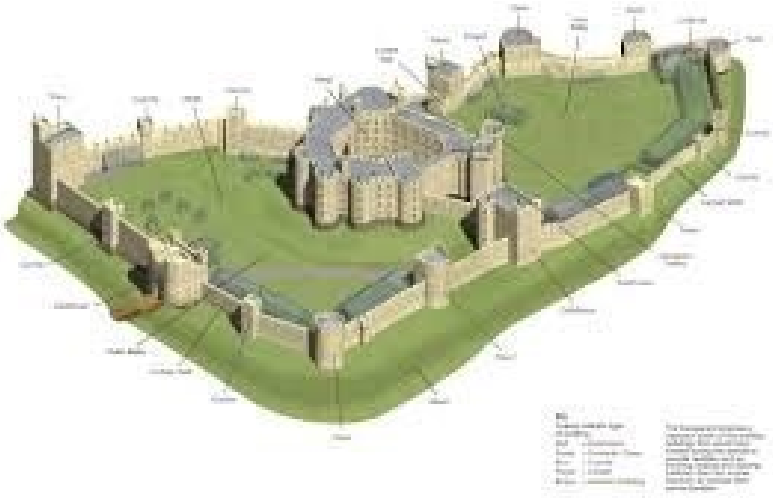
Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat: Pierre de Brézé left his son Jacques with a French garrison of 300 men in Alnwick and set sail again. Seeing this, Edward IV. of England raised a large army in the south, and in the month of December, 1462, commenced the siege of these castles. Alnwick Castle was

[5] Sieges of Bamborough, Alnwick and Dunstanburgh.
[6] With her French troop.

defended by Breze's son and Lord Hungerford with a garrison of 300 men. Pierre de Brézé, with an army of 20,000 Scots, set out to rescue these castles besieged by the English. He advanced towards Alnwick Castle, but the two armies feared to meet. The English raised the siege and retreated. The Scots did not pursue them. At this sight, the garrison marched out of the castle and retreated to Scotland with the Franco-Scottish army, and on 8 January 1463 the Earl of Warwick took possession of the castle in the name of King Edward IV. Bamborough was given to Edward by Henry, Duke of Somerset, according to the treaty of mutual aid. The Duke and Sir Ralph Percy returned to grace.

Source & Readings ♦**The Arrivall of Edward IV.** In *Three Chronicles of the Reign of Edward IV*, edited by Keith Dockray. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1988. ♦**William of Worcester.** *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*. In *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by James Gairdner. Camden Society, 1876. ♦**Warkworth, John.** *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth.* Edited by James O. Halliwell. Camden Society, 1839. ♦**Griffiths, Ralph A.** and **Roger S. Thomas.** *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty.* Stroud: Sutton, 1985. ♦**Ross, Charles.** *Edward IV.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. ♦**Carpenter, Christine.** *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437–1509.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. ♦**Pollard, A. J.** *The Wars of the Roses.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988. ♦**Rowse, A. L.** *Tudor Cornwall & The End of the Wars of the Roses.* London: Macmillan, 1956. ♦**Taylor, Arnold.** *The Welsh Castles of Edward I.* London: HMSO, 1986. ♦**Rowland, T. H.** *Alnwick Castle: A History of the Northumberland Seat.* Alnwick: Northumberland Estates, various editions. ♦**Cathcart King, David J.** *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles in England, Wales, and the Islands.* 2 vols. London: Kraus, 1983. ♦**Pollard, A. J. "***The Lancastrian Northern Resistance, 1461–1464." Northern History* 22 (1986): 1–25. ♦**Curry, Anne.** *"Artillery and Fortifications in Late Medieval England."* In *Arms, Armies, and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, edited by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994. ♦**Macdougall, Norman.** *James III: A Political Study.* Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982. ♦**Brown, Michael.** *The Black Douglases.* East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998. ♦**Hodgson, John.** *A History of Northumberland.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Chronicle Office, various vols., 1820–1840. **Mackenzie, Eneas.** *A Descriptive and Historical Account of Northumberland.* Newcastle, 1825.



Alnwich Casle, built in 1096 during the French colonization of England to monitor the populations of Northumberland. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Ambleteuse.

Date of the Engagement: from 22 to 26 August 1549.

Location: Between Boulogne-sur-Mer and Calais. Geographical coordinates: 50° 49' north latitude, and 01° 36' east longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War; French participation. France and England had officially been at war since August 8, 1549.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. Hostilities between France and England having resumed, it was decided by the French to take advantage of the opportunity to seize the last English strongholds on the continent.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Constable Montmorency and François de Guise. ♦*English*: English Governor Lord John Grey.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦The garrison of Ambleteuse consisted of 6 companies of English infantry; that is to say more than 600 men, which was more than enough to put a fort of this size in a state of defense.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Ambleteuse was one of the fortified strongpoints of the *Slack Logistics Lines* between Boulogne and Calais. While part of the French army was about to invest Fort Slack, which it took on the 24th, another army corps attacked Ambleteuse, whose siege began immediately. Despite four

strong bastions and an English garrison of six companies, the fortress of Ambleteuse capitulated quickly.

Ambleteuse fortification.

Priv.Coll.

Summary of the Action: The French army began the siege of Ambleteuse. The attack was sharp, the response of the English was no less so. But the assaults of the French had in a few hours taken the main fortifications and the garrison was summoned to surrender. Governor Lord John Grey rebuffed this summons with indignation and anger, and, losing his phlegm, even insulted the herald who had brought it to him. The King then brought in the artillery and "the city soon [on 26 August] put itself at the mercy of Henry II of France[7]". Before abandoning the great fort which defended this strongpoint on the sea side, the English had set fire to several places, and then they had begun to plunder it when the French army entered it victoriously. The greatest consideration was observed by the French towards the inhabitants as well as towards the soldiers. André de Montalembert d'Essé, colonel-general of the army and former head of the French Expeditionary Corps in Scotland, issued very strict orders that not a single woman or girl from Ambleteuse should be allowed to be raped. He was strictly obeyed, on pain of

[7] That is to say, it capitulated and asked for mercy from Henry II, who was then only Dauphin.

death[8]. The next day, August 27, the English paraded in front of the French army without being inflicted with the slightest insult by the French soldiers, because this had also been forbidden to do it. An army is in the image of its leader.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The capture of this strongpoint desperately weakened the strategic situation of Calais and Boulogne. The French gave the command of Ambleteuse to Gaspar de Coligny-Châtillon.

Source & Readings ♦**Neil Murphy,** *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550* **(**Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). ♦**A. de Rosny**, "Documents inédits ou rarissimes, concernant les sièges de Boulogne 1544–1549," *Mémoires de la Société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-Mer* 27 (1912), 380–540. ♦**John Gough Nichols,** *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth***, Roxburghe Club** (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons,

[8] Respect for persons, and more especially for women, was a rather incomprehensible novelty for the soldiery of the time who considered this order to be perfectly... unfair.

1857), esp. the "Diary of Edward VI" (entries for August 1549). ♦***The Cambridge Modern History***, vol. II, chap. XIV ("The Habsburg-Valois Wars"). Gives a succinct narrative: Henry II's army crosses into the Boulonnais, captures Ambleteuse (Newhaven) by treachery, then Blackness, and proceeds to the siege of Boulogne. ♦ **David Loades,** *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Siege of Amiens.

Date of action: June - September 1597.

Location: City of the Somme, 125 km from Paris; 49°54'N;02º 18'E.

Conflict: League Wars. Queen Elizabeth of England participates in the Tudor era on the side of King Henry IV of France.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt (daughter of Anne Boleyn) was Queen of England and Henry IV (de Bourbon) King of France. Henri IV had just renounced Protestantism, and on 27 February 1594, he was consecrated not in Reims but in Saint-Denis. In spite of the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism, the Holy Catholic League continued its armed opposition, which confirmed — if need be — that it was indeed a struggle of ambition between several families for the throne of France.

Opposing Commanders: ♦The army of the King of France, which included the English contingents, was commanded by Marshal de Biron, but on 7 June King Henry IV came in person to Amiens, to the great displeasure of Biron, who was no longer the leader. Many League leaders, like the Duke of Mayenne, had gone over to the service of the converted King of France. Puerto Carrero commanded the garrison. Montenegro succeeded him when he was killed.

Opposing Troops Engaged ♦The French army of the King of France[9], a real *international brigade* of Protestantism, including, among others, English contingents. ♦The army of the *Catholic League* included French, but also, among others, Spaniards and Irish. The governor of Amiens was the Spaniard Puerto-Carrero.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Despite several sorties by the garrison, the besiegers dug approach trenches and dug beneath the curtain walls to make them collapse or explode. The use of mines — i.e. tunnels— was revived after having been abandoned for some years. The citadel of Amiens (Somme) is often cited as an example of Errard's fortification techniques[10]. According to Errard, the defense of strongholds relied primarily on Infantry, even though Artillery played an important role, particularly in delivering enfilade fire rather than frontal fire, which consumed too much powder. As a result, the bastions designed by Errard could accommodate up to 200 infantrymen. Thise troops fired from the faces of the bastions, about 70 meters wide, while the artillery was concentrated in the flanks, 30 meters wide, so as to sweep the ditches in enfilade. Erard also provided *covered pathways* to defend the glacis, as well as *half-moons* to protect the gates and curtain walls between the bastions. However, according to Faucherre[11], "the junction between the face and the flank of the bastion forms a right angle, which represents a major disadvantage: the flanking fire is

[9] In spite of the fact that he had become a Catholic; which proved that Queen Elizabeth

[10] Jean Errard, 1554-1610, was a fortification engineer from Bar-le-Duc. He was the author of the first original treatise on fortification published in France*: La fortification reduicte en art et démonstrée [1600].*

[11] Nicolas Faucherre, *Strongholds, Bastions of Power*, R.E.P.A.R.T., Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1986, p.35

oblique in relation to the line of defense at the curtain wall, bearing in mind the psychological reality that a defender feels secure only when firing perpendicularly to the parapet.

Summary of the Action: The Constable of Montmorency, the Dukes of Mayenne and Epernon, the Prince of Joinville, and a large number of former Leaguers, volunteered under the King's white cornet[12], lodged themselves in the forts of the enclosure of the camp of Longre[13] . Biron occupied the Hermitage, within musket range of the counterscarp, at the very place where he had wanted to open the first parallel. On the night of 28 June, a commando of two captains and a few picked soldiers descended into the ditch of the square, to throw *saucissons*[14] from the embrasures. But they did not succeed in setting them all on fire and placing them in the right places. Instead of a breach which the marshal had hoped for, there was a great deal of uproar and a few scratches on the wall. On the other hand, to ward off this new danger, the besieged lodged four companies in the ditch, against the counterscarp, which did not move day or night. When the Mestre-de-camp [of the regiment] of Navarre wanted to "play the sausages" at the ravelin of the Abbeville gate [which looked at Longré], he was assailed at the precise moment when he was descending into the ditch, and forced to retire with great losses. Montenegro, on June 29, marched straight to the Hermitage with 400 horses supported by 200 Irish and Italian infantries. Biron, surprised, was still in great danger when he was rescued by the Count of Auvergne. The marquis withdrew with a

[12] The cornette was a pointed guidon [or pennant] intended to rally the riders.

[13] According to Hardÿ de Perini.

[14] *Saucissons*: Leather bags full of powder that have the effect of a firecracker or a mine.

skirmish; but —supreme consolation for a soldier— he had killed two hundred men of the besiegers, and had lost only ten. The marshal wanted to take his revenge the next day. He ambushed 200 French Infantry in the hovels of the church of St. John and deployed a few squadrons of Cavalry between the camp and the city, as if to provoke Montenegro to a skirmish. The latter came out with his 400 horses and came to give his head into the ambush. When he wanted to *prance*[15] to turn back, the marshal attacked him in the rear and made him turn around. The marquis, charged in front and in flank, would have been destroyed if Puerto Carrero had not come to relieve him with "two companies of cuirassés and one of lances."[16] There was a furious melee, which did not cease until the English battalion had left the camp to support the French Cavalry[17]. Biron established at the Hermitage a battery of eleven large guns intended to prevent the besieged from overtaking their own counterscarp during the march of the parallel and zigzags.

Departure from the garrison; on July 18, François de l'Arc and Diego Durando, each with 300 foot and 100 cavalry, attacked, one on the right, the trench of Picardy, the other on the left, that of Champagne. they swept about 400 m of it. Then, as reinforcements arrived from all sides, they pretended to retire to the counterscarp where 300 Irishmen, 80 armoured halberdiers and 200 men-at-arms were waiting for them; while Captain Simon Latro made a diversion through the *Porte de Beauvais* at the head of 200 light horse. When Puerto Carrero found the opportunity good, he let

[15] Change the front by pivoting on the end of one of its rows.
[16] Widespread metonymy in art of war.
[17] Relation of the Italian captain of Avila, a witness to this battle.

loose ten or twelve volleys of a low battery which sowed disorder and death among the pursuers, and launched against them a tactical reserve of 500 infantry who sprang to the redoubts of the Hermitage to nail the guns. Marshal de Biron, covered with sweat and blood, his hair burned, saw himself lost when the Prince de Joinville, emerging from the nearest fort with the English, charged the Spaniards, Walloons, and Irish, and stopped them. The king [of France] jumped off his horse and flew, pike in hand, with the counts of Auvergne and Saint-Pol and his hosts at La Madeleine, in defense of the artillery. Little by little, all the troops of the camp rushed to intervene in the battle. The fight had lasted for two hours, the heat overwhelmed everyone; the besieged were forced to think of retreat. It was covered and favoured by the cavalry of Simon Latro, which, giving into the flank of the French, separated the troops of the Prince de Joinville from those of the king and Biron. Mayenne arrived at the right time with five or six hundred men-at-arms to relieve all three, in spite of the terrible cannonade which Puerto Carrero directed from the town on the besiegers. When the battle ended, they had lost five hundred men and thirty officers...

The trench was opened on August 1st, and in spite of a few firecrackers brought by the besiegers and the explosion of a *fougasse*[18] which killed forty pioneers, the first parallel was, during the night, pushed to the counterscarp of the enclosure of Amiens. Saint-Luc, Grand Master of the Artillery, established a breach battery of eight guns, which, for twenty-four days, targeted the

[18] Fougasse: explosive mine placed a few meters below ground level, and loaded [covered] with stones.

Abbeville gate and the ravelin[19] which covered it. A large cavalier[20] was built to beat the boulevard. The defenders opposed him with an interior entrenchment behind the threatened bastion. In the course of these attacks, the earth was never seen to be stirred up on either side with more ardor. It was a continual storm of cannonades; the besiegers beat the defenses with forty-five pieces of cannon, and the besieged gave them back two volleys for one[21], until most of their pieces were damaged, dismantled, or exposed. Both sides resumed the use of mines, which had not been practiced in France for several years. One thought of putting one into play which saw it ruined by that of the adversary, and often, when a lodging had been made and some work had been gained, it was dislodged by the violence of the subterranean fire[22]. The situation became critical for Puerto Carrero, for, in addition to the dead of the garrison, the inhabitants, tired of enduring the Spanish boasting, conspired to deliver the city to the king of France. The indomitable Spaniard therefore appealed to the Cardinal-Archduke Albert. The latter gathered at Douai 18,000 footmen, 4,000 horses and 16 cannons. Henry IV left the besiege army to the Duke of Mayenne and allied to harass the Spanish army but to no avail. 11 then decided to

[19] *Ravelin*: Half-moon-shaped structure in a system of fortifications; located in front of a boulevard.

[20] *Cavalier*: A structure usually placed behind the boulevards [entrenchments] and dominating them. In this case, it was built by the besiegers, therefore behind their countervallation lines. It is in fact a simple artillery platform, made of embankment in order to use the artillery in *flat or direct* fire (almost straight, very little arc; in French tir tendu, par opposition à tir courbe or lobbed fire or curved fire) over the curtain wall. It should be remembered by the way that the countervallation lines are entrenchments intended to protect the besiegers against the sorties of the besieged. The circumvallation lines defend the besiegers against possible attacks by relief armies from outside.

[21] According to the consecrated expression.

[22] Mezeray.

hasten the capture of Amiens. He ordered the assault on the half-moons on September 4. It was on this occasion that the Spanish commander of the garrison of Amiens, Puerto-Carrero, was killed by an arquebus shot in a heroic sortie. He left the enemies themselves in admiration of his audacity, his valor, and his military genius. "He had a great soul in a dwarf's body," Hardÿ de Perini écrit with his abrupt and raw pen. Montenegro succeeded him in command of the 2,200 infantry and 400 cavalry that survived from the original garrison.

Finally, on 15 September 1597, Archduke Albert arrived with the Relief Army [20,000 men] on the hill overlooking the village of Longré. This was the surprise and confusion in the French lines of circumvallation. An immediate attack by the Archduke would have destroyed and annihilated the French Royal Army, but the Admiral of Aragon and the Duke of Arcos advised the Archduke to first reconnoitre the French positions. The French took advantage of these hesitations to counterattack. The Constable of Montmorency turned the siege batteries towards the Relief Army, while the Infantry and the Cavalry were hastily deployed. The Regiment of Champagne, with 6 cannons, advanced towards the village of Longré and took the Spanish vanguard as it descended the hill, mowing down whole rows of soldiers like ears of corn ripe under the peasant's blade. Paradoxically, these six guns alone caused the Spanish vanguard to retreat and the attack to be postponed until the next day.

On the morning of the 16th, Henry IV led his army to the plateau of Saint-Sauveur in front of the camp of the Leaguers and the Spaniards. There, for five hours, the French artillery machine-

gunned the Army of the League, which responded with its 16 guns. Here and there were cavalry skirmishes. The cardinal therefore gave up the idea of delivering Amiens, and ordered a retreat. 11 disbanded his Relief Army at Arras.

Amiens capitulated on September 25, 1597. The garrison was awarded *the Honours of War* for the inconceivable courage it had shown. The King of France showed great courtesy to these Spanish soldiers who had fought with immense bravery, according to their tradition[23].

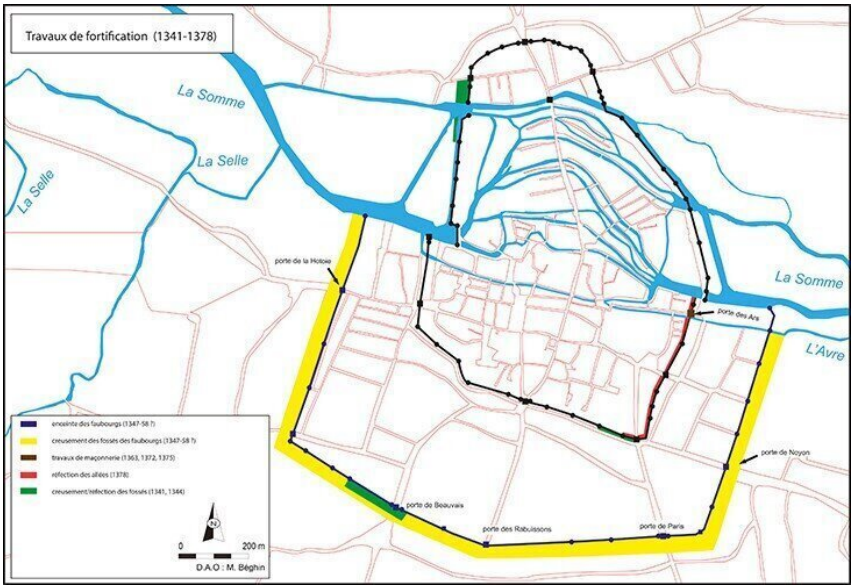
Casualties & Losses ♦Heavy for all armies involved but not quantified.

Aftermath and significance of this Anglo-Spanish defeat. The siege of Amiens and the cannonade of Saint-Sauveur delivered France from the yoke of Philip II, on September 16th, 1597, as the *Cannonade of Valmy* was to save it from invasion, in the same month of September, but in the year 1792.

Source & Readings ♦**Maurice Rivoire**, *Précis historique de la surprise d'Amiens par les Espagnols le 11 mars 1597 et de la reprise par Henri IV le 25 septembre*

[23] Especially when their leader knows how to pinch the heartstrings of their religious beliefs, because even the Civil War of 1936, which officially opposed the Left and the Right, had a whiff of religious or anti-religious fanaticism.

suivant (Paris, Maisnel, 1806). Short classic narrative on both the coup de main and the subsequent siege. ♦**Albert de Badts de Cugnac**, *Le siège d'Amiens en 1597 et les jésuites* (Paris, 1873; modern reprints). Study of the siege with particular attention to the role and perception of the Jesuits in Picardy. ♦**Histoire de la surprise de la ville d'Amiens, par les Espagnols, le 11 mars 1597.** ♦**Olivia Carpi & José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez**, « *Les noix, les espions et les historiens. Réflexion sur la prise d'Amiens (11 mars 1597)* », *Histoire, économie & société*, 23/3 (2004), p. 323-348. ♦**Ronald Hubscher** (dir.), *Histoire d'Amiens* (Toulouse, Privat, 1986). ♦**Xavier Bailly & Jean-Bernard Dupont** (dir.), *Histoire d'une ville : Amiens,* Amiens, Scérén–CRDP, 2013. ♦**Christopher Duffy**, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494–1660* (Routledge, 1979). ♦**S. Annette Finley-Croswhite**, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610* (Cambridge, 1999).



Fortifications of Amiens. Priv.Coll.

Attack on Alderney.

Other Name: Aurigny.

Date of the Engagement: 21 June 1558. In 1558 Alderney was subject to a French raid and temporary occupation, shortly after the fall of Calais. But the precise date of 21 June is not clearly confirmed. The exact day may be drawn from a secondary source or might be slightly uncertain

Location: One of the islands of the Channel Islands; 49° 43' North, 02° 12' West.

Conflict: The war between France and the Holy Roman Germanic Empire had resumed in 1551. Charles V had abdicated in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand. England joined Spain in her war against France.

Historical Background: Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. Mary was the daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Through his marriage[24] to Queen Mary Tudor of England, Philip II, King of Spain, the Two-Sicilies, India [America] and the Netherlands, was able to concentrate a formidable armada against the French. France was in danger. The Truce of Vaucelles was broken by Henry II of France who resumed the war against Philip II, son and successor of Charles V [Quint] in

[24] In 1554.

Spain. Northern France was then invaded by an Anglo-Spanish army.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Governor of Dieppe and Captain Malesart.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Little is known about the details of this landing. The details of the raid (how many French, how many islanders, casualties, damage) are not well documented in the sources. At that time (mid-16th century) the Channel Islands were of strategic value, lying between England and France. The loss of Calais by England (also in 1558) made English holdings in the French/Channel region more important and more vulnerable. Alderney had been raided before (e.g., in 1338 by the French) and its defenses were relatively weak.)

Summary of the Action: On June 21, the island of Alderney was taken after a French landing. This French raid, led by a Captain "Malesard (of Cherbourg)", took place shortly after England had lost Calais.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat, the engineer Anine de Maioricy immediately put the island in a state of defense. Alderney was recaptured from the French by the governor of the Channel Islands, Leonard Chamberlain. Despite a rapid retreat, the French corsairs who held the island lost a few ships and a hundred prisoners, including Captain Malesart. . The raid resulted in the island being occupied for a few weeks. After the occupation, the French commander was apparently captured and sent to the Tower of London by a force commanded by George Chamberlain (a son

of the Governor of Guernsey). In 1559 (the following year) as a reward for the recapture, Elizabeth I granted George Chamberlain a 1,000-year lease on the island.

Alderney UK Priv.Coll.

Source & Readings **♦Martin du Bellay,** *Mémoires* (Paris, 1569). **♦Pierre de Bourdeille,** seigneur de Brantôme**,** *Œuvres complètes*. **♦English State Papers –** *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth I***, vol. 1 (1558–1559). ♦Edward Hall,** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families* (Hall's Chronicle). **♦G. R. Balleine,** *The Bailiwick of Jersey* (1951). **♦A. C. Saunders,** *History of the Channel Islands* (Oxford, 1935). **♦James Marr,** *The History of the Island of Alderney* (Alderney Society, various editions). **♦R. L. Lemprière,** *The Channel Islands Under Tudor Government* **(**Guernsey Historical Monographs). **♦E. T. Nicolle,** *The Channel Islands During the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor Period*. **♦Alderney Society Bulletin** (various years). **♦Guernsey *Journal* and *Transactions of the Société Guernesaise*.**

Alderney Castle. Priv.Coll

Attack on Alderney.

Date of the Engagement: December 1558.

Location: One of the islands of the Channel Islands, also called Aurigny in Old French; 49º43' North, 02º12' West.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V had resumed in 1551. Scottish War.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt (daughter of Anne Boleyn or Boulogne) was the Queen of England, and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. Charles V had abdicated in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand. England had joined Spain in her war against France.

Summary of the Action: A French company of 400 men, commanded by Captain Léon de la Haie, recaptured the island of Alderney, which the English had recovered in July 1558. Other French companies were preparing to occupy Guernsey and Jersey, but the war ended before these operations could be carried out.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat, negotiations began on 12 October 1558 between France on the one hand and the allies on the other: Spain, England, Navarre and Savoy. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis confirmed that Calais would remain French "for 8 years" [sic!]

Source & Readings **♦Pierre de L'Estoile** – *Registre-journal du règne de Henri IV*.**♦ Agrippa d'Aubigné –** *Histoire universelle (1550–1601).* **♦Jacques-Auguste de Thou –** *Historia sui temporis, a* well-documented account. **♦David Potter –** ***A History of France, 1460–1560*** **(**and his later works on the Wars of Religion). **♦Mack P. Holt –** *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629.* **♦Yves-Marie Bercé –** *La Naissance dramatique de l'absolutisme, 1598–1661* **(Chapters on Henri IV). ♦H. G. Koenigsberger –** *Europe in the Sixteenth Century***.** Includes the 1597 campaign. **♦Oman, Charles –** ***A*** *History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century***.** Includes the siege operations and tactics at Amiens. **♦Parker, Geoffrey –** *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road (1567–1659).*

Bamburgh Castle (Priv.Coll.)

Siege of Bamburgh

Other name: Bamborough.

Date of the Engagement: mid-October 1462.

Location: Coastal town in Northern England, 30 km SW. of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the frontier of Scotland. 55° 36' North; 01° 42' West.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485. French participation.

Historical Background: Edward IV of York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Jean II le Bon (de Valois), King of France. The Lancastrians ruled England through the unpopular Henry VI. But his cousin, Richard of York, claimed the throne. The King of France supported the English Lancastrian [Tudor] side; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy. The French and English launched deadly harassment raids against coastal towns. On the arrival in France of Margaret of Anjou [Marguerite d'Anjou], wife of King Henry VI of Lancaster of England, who had until then taken refuge in Scotland, Louis XI of France put a squadron at her disposal.

Opposing Commanders ♦Lord Montague and Lord Ogle commanded the English contingents, with the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Ross and Sir Ralph Percy. ♦The French leaders were Brézé, Floquet, P. de Vieuchatel.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This English expedition was intended to retaliate against the French raid on Sandwich (England). The Queen of England, Margaret of Anjou, tried to incite the population to a general uprising but did not succeed. The siege of Bamburgh was carried out in the usual way of that time: blockade, mines and counter-mines, assault by climbing with assault ladders, trebuchets and even a semblance of siege artillery.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦2,000 French and Scots embarked on board the ships. ♦Bamburgh had a garrison of 300 men.

Summary of the Action As soon as the French Cavalry had finished embarking, on October 7, Brézé left Honfleur and sailed for Northumberland where he was to link up with the Duke of Somerset. But the latter —fearing to take sides and make a bad choice on the wrong horse— refused to move. The fort of Tynemouth fired on the French squadron, which landed troops to capture Bamburgh. The city was blockaded, stormed with climbing ladders and destroyed by the Franco-Scots.

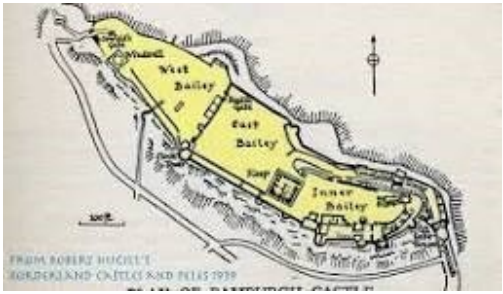
Casualties & Losses ♦Heavy on both sides.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat : The insurrection spread like wildfire, to the Queen of England's benefit, Margaret d'Anjou.

Source & Readings ♦**Gregory's *Chronicle*** In: *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876). notes on northern campaigns of 1462. ♦**Warkworth's *Chronicle,*** *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of Edward IV*, ed. J.O. Halliwell (Camden Society, 1839). ♦**Paston Letters,** *The Paston Letters*, ed. James Gairdner (6 vols., London, 1872–75). [refer to the Scottish-Lancastrian raids and Edward IV's military preparations in 1462.] ♦**English Patent Rolls & Close Rolls, 1461–1463. ♦Griffiths, Ralph A., and Roger S.**

Thomas. *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (Stroud, 1985). (the northern fortresses (Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, Bamburgh). ♦**Carpenter, Christine.** *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437–1509* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). ♦**Pollard, A.J.** *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses* (Clarendon Press, 1990). ♦**Haigh, Philip.** *The Military Campaigns of the Wars of the Roses* (Sutton, 1995).♦**Wagner, John A.** *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (ABC-CLIO, 2001). ♦**Hislop, Malcolm.** *Bamburgh Castle: The Archaeology of a Fortress* (Oxford Archaeology North, 2010). ♦**Fry, Plantagenet Somerset.** *The David & Charles Book of Castles* (1980).

Map of Bamburgh Castle (Priv.Coll)



Battles of Barfleur

Date of the Engagement: 16-17 June 1492.

Location: On the English Channel, in the Cotentin peninsula: 49° 40' N.; 01°15'W. War of the Breton Succession.

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace. That year, the Genoese[25] Christopher Columbus officially discovered the New World, for Spain.

Historical Background: Henry VII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VIII (de Valois) King of France. This raid took place to protest against the marriage of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII of France on December 6, 1491, but also in response to an attempt by the French to foment disturbances in Scotland and Ireland where two ships from Honfleur had landed a Yorkist partisan, John Taylor, with a French troop. For, after having played the part of the Tudors during the Wars of the Roses, France, concerned only with destabilizing the English monarchy, now relied on the Yorkist partisans.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French* troops were commanded by Captains from Valognes, Ribeauvillé and Corbin. ♦*English*: Admiral Willoughby.

[25] Twenty five countries or cities claim Christopher Columbus, including Spain, Italy, Portugal…

Opposing Troops Engaged ♦*English* : about sixty ships of different tonnages.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Frontal assault and hand-to-hand combat.

Summary of the Action: The English admiral Willoughby decided to attack Barfleur. Fear kept in this port a flotilla of small Breton salt transports, as well as two rich merchant ships arrived from Messina and Naples. They were easy prey to be carried off by Willoughby's English squadron of 35 to 40 ships[26], and a dozen others with a tonnage of 140 to 300 tons. In addition, reinforcements arrived from Portsmouth: a large ship of 400 tons and 10 boats of 100 to 180 tons.

FIRST BATTLE

On 16 June, Willoughby attempted a first landing, but a French counterattack forced the English troops to re-embark with heavy losses.

SECOND BATTLE

On the afternoon of June 17, the English attempted a second landing led by Willoughby on another point of the coast. But the French men-at-arms came from *a salient*[27] and counter-attacked unexpectedly, again driving the English infantry back to their ships. The English re-embarked in haste, abandoning two cannons and an

[26] 'Including the magnificent REGENT and SOVEREIGN.

[27] A *salient* (from the French *saillant*, saillir, the verb *to sally*, meaning “to jut out” to protrude) is an **advanced portion** of a front, trench, bastion, or battlefield that **protrudes** from the general line.

ensign on the beach. Nevertheless, before weighing anchor, the English succeeded in setting fire to the Breton salt transports, in retaliation for their defeat.

Casualties & Losses ♦of human material on the English side, ♦French salt barges. The human losses are not quantified.

As a result of these English failures, Barfleur was spared, saved.

Barfleur Site, Priv.Coll.

Source & Readings ♦**Hall, Edward.** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York***.** London, 1548. ♦**Vergil, Polydore.** *Anglica Historia***.** c. 1513–1534. ♦***Calendars of State Papers, Milan*** **(CSP Milan).** – Reports by Milanese ambassadors describing Anglo-French tensions in 1492. ♦***Recueil des historiens de France*** **(RHF), vols. 22–23.** ♦**Jean Molinet**, *Chroniques* (ed. G. Doutrepont & O. Jodogne). Brussels, 1935–37. ♦**André de La Vigne**, *Le Voyage de Naples* & associated chronicles. ♦*Letters & Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VII* (various in the *Cal. State Papers*). Scattered references to the Channel operations of June 1492. ♦**Oman, Sir Charles.** *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages***, vol. II.** Methuen, 1924. ♦**Rodger, N.A.M.** *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval*

*History of Britain 660–1649***.** Penguin, 1997. ♦**Cooper, J.P. "**Henry VII's Naval Administration." *English Historical Review* 1960. ♦**Kerr, J.** *The Reign of Henry VII: Coastal Warfare and Diplomacy***.** Oxford Studies, 2009. ♦**Bourgeois, Émile.** *Les guerres d'Italie sous Charles VIII***.** Paris, 1901. ♦**Houssaye, Henry.** *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol. I. Paris, 1886.

Siege of Belle-Isle-en-Mer.

Date of action: 22 - 28 April 1573.

Location: lsland located in the Atlantic, off the coast of La Rochelle, France. Geographical coordinates: 47°20'N, 03°10'W.

Conflict: In France, it was a civil war: the *Fourth War of Religions*, 1572-1573. English aid to French Protestants.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Charles IX (de Valois) King of France. La Rochelle, held by the Huguenots, was blockaded and besieged by the Royal French Army. An English fleet came to its rescue but ran into a French squadron. After a static fight, the English fleet retreated to Belle-lsle-en-Mer.

Summary of the French Wars of Religion (1562 – 1598). Major phases: First War (1562–1563): Began with the Massacre of Vassy (1 March 1562). Second and Third Wars (1567–1570): Continued clashes ending with the Peace of Saint-Germain (1570). Fourth to Seventh Wars (1572–1580): Marked by the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) and constant civil war. The War of the Three Henries (1587–1589): Between Henry III (king), Henry of Guise, and Henry of Navarre. End of the wars (1589–1598): After Henry IV's accession and his *conversion to Catholicism (1593),* the conflict ended with the Edict of Nantes (1598) granting toleration to Protestants.

Summary of the English Wars of Religion (roughly 1534 – 1689) Key phases: *1)*English Reformation *(1534–1558):* 1534: Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy, creating the Church of England. Religious swings under *Edward VI (Protestant) and Mary I (Catholic),* culminating in persecution and instability. *2)*Elizabethan Settlement *(1559 – 1603):* Elizabeth I restores Protestantism but faces *Catholic plots, the Northern Rebellion (1569), and the Spanish Armada (1588)* — all with a strong religious component. *3)*English Civil Wars (1642 – 1651): Conflict between *Royalists (often Anglican)* and Parliamentarians (Puritan / Calvinist). Religion was a major ideological driver. *4)*The Glorious Revolution (1688 – 1689): Final major religious-political upheaval: deposition of James II (Catholic) and establishment of a Protestant monarchy under William III and Mary II.

France ended with the Edict of Nantes (1598): Tolerance Born of Bloodshed. The French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) concluded with Henry IV's Edict of Nantes, signed in April 1598. This re-established civil peace by granting the Huguenots (Protestants) limited freedom of worship, civil rights, and control of a few fortified towns (so-called *places de sûreté*). It was a remarkably modern act of tolerance for its time — recognizing religious plurality within a Catholic kingdom, though still under the dominance of Catholicism. The Edict was later revoked by Louis XIV in 1685 (Edict of Fontainebleau), restarting persecution and prompting large Huguenot migrations to the Netherlands, England, and North America. So: France ended in relative tolerance, at least temporarily.

England ended in Protestant Exclusivity and Catholic *Disenfranchisement and exclusion.* England followed almost the opposite trajectory: instead of tolerance, the settlement gradually hardened into exclusion. (Test Acts, late 17th century). *Until 1871,*

the University Tests Act *prevented Catholics from taking lay degrees or holding lay offices in universities and mainly at Oxford, Cambridge or Durham* (*students had to make a declaration of religious belief before exclusion*.)

Opposing Commanders in the s**iege of Belle-Isle-en-Mer** ♦*English fleet*: Vice-Admiral Montgomery of Cornwall. ♦The commander of the French garrison at Belle Isle was Captain Francisque.

Forces engaged ♦*British fleet*: 55 warships. The embarked army included 800 Anglo-Flemish arquebusiers and 400 pikemen. ♦*French garrison* of Belle-Isle: 400 soldiers.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This was an attempt to establish an advanced English base in the Belle-Isle sector in order to help the Huguenots[28]. It failed. It was at this time that King Charles IX imposed the "six calibers of France" in order to bring some order to the French Artillery. During sieges, *cannon*[29] was used to breach fortifications; *couleuvrin*[30] was now used to destroy gabions and parapets; and *falcon*[31] to carry out anti-personnel fire. The range of the arquebus and muskets[32], about a hundred meters,

[28] Huguenot = French Protestants. And, in the longer term, to recover Guyenne.

[29] 20 kg cannonball.

[30] 2,5 to 10 kg cannonvall.

[31] 1 to 2 kg cannonball.

[32] As soon as the cannon had invaded the European battlefields, light cannons on pivots called haquebutes were invented, and when they had succeeded in making them even lighter so that they could be fired with a free hand, they took the name of arquebus. The musket, apparently invented around the middle of the sixteenth century, differed from the arquebus in the shape of its stock, which was less curved or quite straight, and in its larger caliber. Its name comes from *mouchette* (moucheron), a small fly, because of the size of its projectiles.

covered the interval between the bastions along a curtain wall, so that they [these bastions] could support each other.

Summary of the Action: After the naval battle at La Rochelle, the Anglo-Huguenot fleet headed for Belle-Isle, and landed on the beach of the *Mer Sauvage*[33] the companies of Lorges [son of Montgomery]. Lorges attacked Belle-lie where Captain Francisque capitulated on April 28 with his 400 men. The English immediately seized the town of Le Palais, and the next day took possession of the castle, the garrison of which abandoned the Governor. The Earl of Montgomery divided his army into four brigades, and retained the last one for the defense of the island. He himself settled at Belle-lie, kept with him only the PRIMROSE with his vice-admiral ship, and sent the other warships to the south and north. In May, a French squadron[34] was concentrated to drive the English from Belle-Isle. On learning of the arrival of the French, Montgomery burned all he could on the island, both the property of the inhabitants and the military stocks and defense works, and set sail on 26 May for Plymouth. This French Relief Army consisted of 4,000 men, whom the Duke of Montpensier had led to Auray, and a fleet of 10 to 12 ships commanded by Albert de Gondi, Baron de Retz.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

[33] "*Mer Sauvage*" can refer to several places, notably the wild coast of Loire-Atlantique (from Le Croisic to Le Pouliguen), and the wild coast of Charente-Maritime (between La Palmyre and Ronce-les-Bains).
[34] Vice-Admiral La Meilleraye.

Château of Belle-Isle-en-mer Priv.Coll.

Aftermath and Significance of this French defeat: This expedition of the Earl of Montgomery determined the king of France at the time, Charles IX, to withdraw the island from the monks. A solid French garrison was then[35] installed on the island.

Source & Readings ♦**Smith, William.** *An Authentic Journal of the Expedition to Belleisle: And of the Siege of the Citadel of Palais…* London, G. Woodfall, 1761. ♦**Belle-Isle, 1761. Plan of the Fort of Belle Isle, 1692.** e.g. UBC digital collections); useful for studying the fortifications and the citadel at Le Palais prior to the siege. ♦**Taylor, Michael.** *L'Invasion et l'Occupation de Belle-Isle par les Anglais, 1761–1763.* Concarneau: Imprimeries de l'Atlantique, for Société Historique de Belle-Île-en-Mer, 2016. ♦**Herbert, F. J. "**The Belle-Île

[35] Probably.

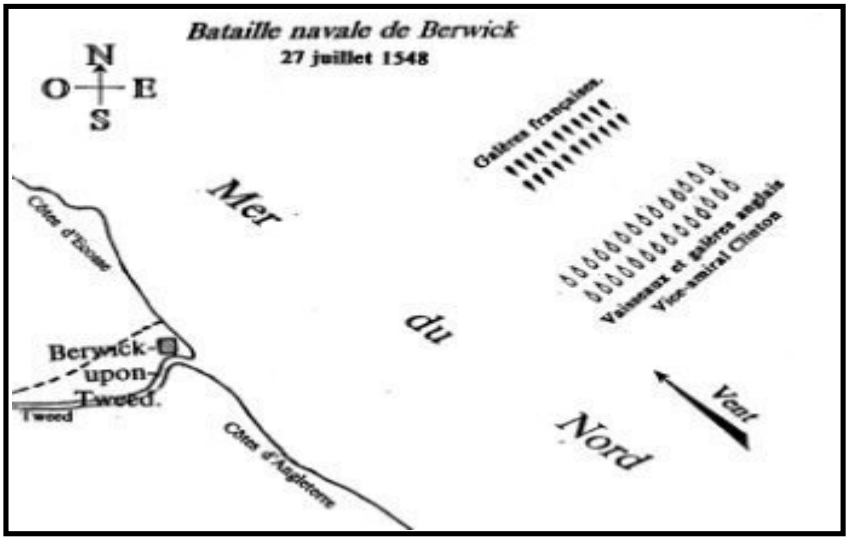
Expedition of 1761." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (1986).♦**Corbett, Julian S.** *England in the Seven Years' War: A Study in Combined Strategy.* **Vol. II. London, 1907. ♦Anderson, Fred.** *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766.* New York, 2000**. ♦Dull, Jonathan R.** *The French Navy and the Seven Years' War.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005**. ♦Middleton, Richard.** *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt–Newcastle Ministry and the Conduct of the Seven Years' War, 1757–1762.* Cambridge, 1985.

Castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Priv.Coll.

Naval Battle of Berwick-upon-Tweed

Date of faction: 27 July 1548.

Location: Berwick-upon-Tweed was a fortress-port situated, of course, on the Tweed River, the natural border of Scotland, at 55º 46' Latitude North and 02° 00' Longitude West.



Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was also momentarily slowed down.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. A French

convoy succeeds in breaking through the English blockade of Scotland erected in the North Sea by Vice Admiral Wyndham's 8 large cruisers. When the great fleet of 140 sail arrived, in June, 1548, the squadron of the Royal Navy[36], which supported Lord Grey's operations, remained safe in the shelter of Holy Island. The French vanguard was reported off Berwick. On 17 June, the French fleet landed its troops unopposed in the roadstead of Leith, Edinburgh's fortified port. Its geographical location is similar to that of Piraeus in relation to Athens. While Lieutenant-General Montalembert d'Essé marched on the town of Haddington, the French galleys harassed Vice-Admiral Clinton and bombarded Broughty Craig.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations : The oars of galleys and pinnaces (also called galleasses) allowed maneuvering without taking into account the whims of the wind, and this type of vessel was certainly a major asset in naval combat

Summary of the Action: On July 27, the French galleys attacked the English fleet. The very calm sea favored rowing maneuvers. The galleys sank the English ship La PENSÉE and inflicted serious damage on the GALÈRE-D'ANGLETERRE. Moreover, on the following August 3rd, the GALLEY OF ENGLAND and the MAISTRESSE, set off in pursuit of two isolated French galleys, but

[36] Vice Admiral Clinton. It was Henry VIII who set up a royal navy of large warships armed with heavy guns, as well as a naval administration, ancestor of the Admiralty of England. This king may therefore be considered as the true founder of the Royal Navy, which, as we have said above, took over from the squadrons of the Cinque Ports. However, it was Charles II who gave the name of Royal Navy to this royal fleet. Henry VIII gave his largest ships the names of his mistresses, in French: La GRAUNDE-MAISTRESSE (Grand Mistress), L'ANNE-GALAUNTE (Anne Boleyn Galante), La MAISTRESSE... Culturally speaking, Henry VIII was more French-speaking than English-speaking.

which in fact served as bait, fell into an ambush and only could escape riddled with cannonballs.

Casualties & Losses ♦Unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat: Although not very compromising on a tactical level, this defeat had strategic repercussions: it allowed the French to continue with impunity to help the Scots in their resistance against the English annexation of Scotland.

Source & Readings ♦**Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots**, vol. 1 (1547–1563). **Correspondance du Maréchal Paul de Thermes** (in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, various issues). *French naval operations in Scotland, including the summer 1548 campaign.* ♦**Martin du Bellay, *Mémoires***. (*French strategy in Scotland; brief references to the galley squadron sent by Henri II.)* ♦**Marcus Merriman,** *The Rough Woo-ings*[37]*: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (Tuckwell Press, 2000). (*description*

[37] **The Rough Wooing** [l'Intimation cinglante] was a brutal *Anglo-Scottish War* (1543–1551) in which England tried —by force— to compel Scotland to agree to a marriage between the infant **Mary, Queen of Scots** and **Prince Edward**, heir to **Henry VIII**. The name is deliberately ironic: it was a "wooing" conducted with fire, cannon, and invasion. Why "*Rough Wooing*"? The phrase was first used in 1548 by the Scottish chronicler George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, who said the English were trying to "win us to their purpose by a rough wooing." It captured the English strategy perfectly: *marry us—or we burn your towns*. The French called *the Rough Wooing*: *La Ruffianerie*, *La Grande Bastonnade*, etc… In 1542, Scotland's King James V died, leaving his 6-day-old daughter Mary as queen. Henry VIII hoped to annex Scotland peacefully through marriage. The *Treaty of Greenwich* (1543) initially accepted the match — Scotland would send Mary to England at age 10. But the *Scottish Parliament rejected the treaty* in December 1543, fearing English annexion and preferring an alliance with France (the traditional ***Auld Alliance***). Henry VIII responded with war. *The War's Two Phases : Phase 1 (1544–1546): Henry VIII's devastation campaigns.* England launched punitive expeditions across southern and eastern Scotland: *1544 – Burning of Edinburgh and Leith* by the Earl of Hertford. *1545 – Battle of Ancrum Moor* (Scottish victory). Destruction of towns, abbeys, crops, and harbours from the Borders to Fife. This was meant to terrorize Scotland into sending Mary to England. *Phase 2 (1547–1551): Somerset's invasion and French intervention.* After Henry VIII died (1547), the regent Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset invaded Scotland to force the marriage: *1547 – Battle of Pinkie Cleugh* (crushing English victory). Occupation of *Haddington*, *Broughty Castle, Dunbar,* and fort-building along the coast: England seized key sea-forts to control communications. But France landed 6,000 troops in 1548 under Léon Strozzi. They bombarded and captured St Andrews Castle, Haddington was besieged, and the English occupation gradually

of the July 1548 naval actions.) ♦**George G. Simpson,** *French Naval Operations in Scotland, 1548–1550, The Scottish Historical Review* 35 (1956): 1–17. ♦**R. B. Wernham,** *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Sea Power, 1485–1588* (1966). ♦**N. A. M. Rodger,** *The Safeguard of the Sea:* ***A Naval History of Britain 660–1649*** (1997). (*French galley campaign and the English reaction).* ♦**David Scott,** *Berwick-upon-Tweed in the 16th Century.* ♦**Ken Bartman, "**The French Galleys in Scotland, 1548–49," *Mariner's Mirror* 84 (1998): 3–17. *(Operation of the galley squadron.)* ♦**A. Teulet,** *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse*, vols. 1–2.

collapsed. In 1550–1551, the war ended with peace treaties between England, Scotland, and France. **Outcome:** Mary, Queen of Scots was never sent to England. Instead, she was sent to France in 1548, later marrying the Dauphin François. Scotland remained allied to France. English fort-building projects (Broughty, Haddington, Aymouth, etc.) were abandoned. Both kingdoms were exhausted economically. It deepened Scottish hostility to England. It strengthened the Franco-Scottish alliance. It foreshadowed later conflicts of the 16th century, with artillery-driven sieges and fortified positions playing major roles. It shaped the childhood and later political fate of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Naval Battle of the Blancs-Sablons.

Other name: Naval Battle of the Croyx Primoguet.

Date of faction: 22 April 1513.

Location: The Baie des Blancs-Sablons is located in Finistère, Brittany, France[38].

Conflict: War of the Holy League, which had begun on October 4, 1511 . King Henry VIII of England had joined it on November 13, 1511.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. Seven countries had joined the coalition against France under the aegis of Pope Julius II[39]. Soon afterward, the separate treaties of 23 March and 1st April 1513 freed it from two powerful adversaries: Venice and Spain. The English fleet had been embossed[40] since 11 April 1513 in front of Pointe Saint-Mathieu, blocking the road to Brest. A French squadron (Prégent de Bidoux] attempted to break the blockade.

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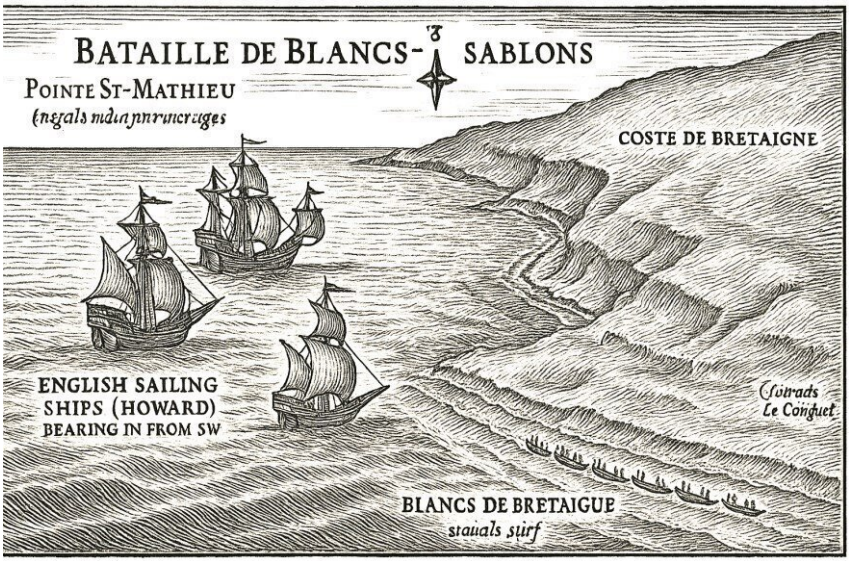
[38] It is not, of course, a question of the Canadian Blanc-Sablon.

[39] ***Giuliano Delia Rovere***, [1443-1513], born in Albissola was pope from 1503 to 1513. This "helmeted" pontiff restored the political power of the papacy in Italy and was the driving force behind the *League of Cambrai* against the Venetians [1508], and the *Holy League* against France [1511-1512].

[40] Embossed = anchored, stationed.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Pregent de Bidoux. ♦*English*: Admiral Edgar Howard.

Forces Engaged ♦*French*: 6 galleys and 4 brigantines[41]. ♦*English*: about fifty ships of all sizes.



Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The English effort to outflank the enemy proved unsuccessful.

Summary of the action: Wanting to break the blockade, the French squadron of Prégent de Bidoux[42] was spotted by six scout ships which gave the alarm. Bidoux was, on April 22nd, 1513, at Croyx Primoguet, in the Baie des Blancs-Sablons. About fifty English ships soon appeared and attempted to encircle the 10 French ships.

[41] A small vessel with two masts and a single deck.

[42] Six galleys and 4 brigantines.

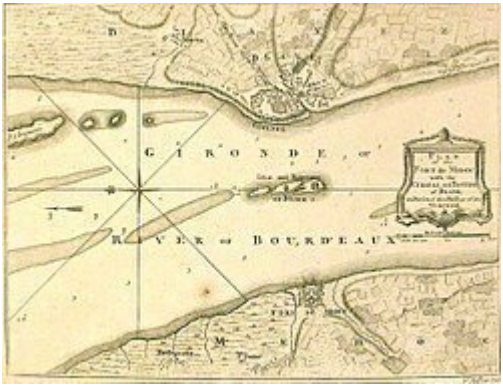
But, by an aggressive manoeuvre, Bidoux threw himself on them, fought furiously, and broke through the line of blockade. After sinking an English ship and two troop transports, and damaging Stephen Bull's LESSE BARKE, the French entered Brest. Bidoux lost only a small brigantine.

Casualties & Losses ♦*French*: one brigantine. ♦*English*: one ship and two troop transports sunk. The LESSE BARKE was damaged.

Aftermath and significance of this Battle, both squadrons claimed victory, the French for having succeeded in breaking through the English line by inflicting losses on the English, and the English for having remained on the ba♦ttlefield.

Source & Readings ♦**Spont, A.** *Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512–1513.* Navy Records Society, 1898. (letters on Edward Howard's operations off Brest in April 1513.) **Le Moing, Guy.** *Les Blancs-Sablons, Le Conquet, 25 avril 1513. La marine franco-bretonne repousse la Royal Navy.* Plougastel: Historic'One, 2012. ♦**Le Moing, Guy; Vincent, F. (illus.).** *Les Batailles Navales Oubliées n°1: Le Conquet & Blancs-Sablons 1513.* ♦**Les Blancs-Sablons. Le Conquet. 25 avril 1513.** La marine franco-bretonne repousse la Royal Navy. ♦Williamson, James A. *Maritime Enterprise, 1485–1558.* ♦**Global Maritime History –** "Death of Lord Admiral Edward Howard" (2013). Online article reconstructing Howard's final attack on the French/Breton galleys at Blancs-Sablons and discussing the tactical problems of engaging galleys with sailing ships. Global Maritime History. ♦**Brennan, Michael G.** "The Military, Court and Diplomatic Career of Sir Philip Sidney's Father." This study briefly summarises the 25 April 1513 battle (Les Blancs-Sablons) and Howard's death, with references to contemporary naval accounts. White Rose Research Online. F**rench summary article:** Bataille de la baie des Blancs-Sablons.

Blancs Sablons Bay. Priv.Coll.



Gironde Defensif System, 1-North : Fortress of Blaye,
2-South : Fort Médoc, Central Island: Fort Pâté Battery. Priv.Coll.

Siege and naval combat of Blaye

Date of the Engagement: 21 December 1592 - 4 August 1593.

Location: Today Blaye-et-Sainte-Luce. A town on the right bank of the Gironde, 49 km from Bordeaux; 45°08'North, 00°39'West.

Conflict: War of the Holy Catholic League.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henry IV (de Bourbon) King of France. On 11 May, an English fleet of 33 sail was reported, bringing aid to the royalist troops of Henry IV of France: the three English regiments of General Norris, commanded by the Prince of Dombes. Norris asked to occupy Brest in the name of England, which wanted to repay itself for its military aid to the Protestant King of France, but Henry IV refused him. Then Norris landed his troops at Pimpol.

Opposing Commanders ♦*Anglo-French*: Lieutenant-General Goyan de Matignon; Vice-Admiral Jaubert de Barrault; Admiral Houghton.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations : Blockade first, then naval combat by boarding and cannon. Blaye had always occupied a strategic point on the road to Spain which crossed the Gironde at this point. As early as Roman times, the hill had been fortified. A town and a castle with six towers developed during the twelfth century. Initially English, the city became French in 1451. Access to

Bordeaux had to be protected. "The governor[43] Claude de Saint-Simon (father of Louis) then decided to re-enforce the front towards land[44]... a large dry ditch beaten by a faussebraie[45] and two large horseshoe-shaped boulevards placed in front of the gate and the castle;... To accommodate a growing garrison, the inhabitants of the upper town were expelled and relocated to the suburbs. The fortified city had become a citadel."

Summary of the Action: In the South, Blaye, in the hands of the Leaguers, disturbed the maritime traffic of Bordeaux. With English ships that he had seized, the leaguer captain Esparbès de Lussan ransomed passing ships. On 21 December 1592, the French army of Lieutenant General Goyan de Matignon, the 14 pataches of Vice-Admiral Jaubert de Barrault and the 6 English warships of Houghton's squadron laid siege to Blaye. On April 18, 1593, 16 Spanish warships and 2 French warships defeated the English blockading squadron in a fight that lasted several hours. Pursued by the Franco-Spanish squadron, the English admiral blew himself up rather than surrender, but the English pavilion was still found and exhibited as a trophy by the Franco-Spanish squadron.

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[43] Writes Nicolas Faucherre, in his work *Strongholds, Bastions of Power*, pp. 97-98.

[44] It was probably *Blaise de Pagan* [1607-1665] who inspired and directed the work. Pagan was also the inspiration for the great Vauban. It was he who modified the sides of the bastions so that they were perpendicular to the curtain wall. The flanking by cannons, intended to take the ditches in enfilade, was reinforced with musketry, and the height of the parapets limited in order to allow the "barbette shooting", i.e. over the parapet, without embrasures. Pagan also recommended the staggered defenses in depth, adding external works that delayed the attack on the main body.

[45] Faussebraie or fausse-braie means outer ditch parapet. **A** low outer wall or terrace built between the main rampart and the moat, intended to delay attackers and protect the main curtain wall from direct artillery fire

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown. The English lost all six of their warships.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat, the destruction of the Royal Navy squadron was severely felt in this area and impossible to replace in the short term.

Source & Readings ♦**Serge Brunet**, *Le grand siège de Blaye (1593) : chant du cygne – et révélateur – de la Ligue hispanophile de Guyenne »*, in B. Lachaise & C. Piot (eds.), *La guerre en Aquitaine, les Aquitains en guerre, de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Nérac, Éd. de l'Albret / Amis du Vieux Nérac, 2017, p. 139–171. ♦**Dr Gélineau**, *Le dernier triomphe de la Ligue sous Henri IV : siège de Blaye par Matignon (1592–1593)*, Paris, 1905. ♦**A. Beschi & É. Cron**, *Visages du patrimoine en Aquitaine. Vauban, Blaye et le verrou de l'estuaire Gironde*, Bordeaux, Éd. Confluences, 2011. ♦**Cesáreo Fernández Duro**, *Armada Española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón*, vol. III, Madrid, 1898, esp. pp. 85–87. ♦**José Ortiz y Sanz**, *Historia General de España*, vol. VII, 3e éd., Madrid, 1846, c. 1592–1593. ♦**Manuel Gracia Rivas**, *En el IV centenario del fallecimiento de Pedro Zubiaur, un marino vasco del siglo XVI* », in *Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País Vasco*, San Sebastián, 2006. ♦**Gustav Ungerer**, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, vol. I, London, 1974. ♦**Juan Antonio Ortega y Medina**, *El conflicto anglo-español por el dominio oceánico*, México, UNAM, 1994. ♦**Wallace T. MacCaffrey**, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588–1603*, Princeton University Press, 1994. ♦**Bruce Wernham (ed.)**, *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series: May 1592 – June 1593*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1964. ♦**Battle of Blaye (1593)**, in *Wikipedia* (English and French versions).♦**Serge Brunet,** *Le grand siège de Blaye (1593)* – PDF via Academia. ♦**Contemporary view of the siege and naval combat.** The coloured drawing *"View of the siege of the town of Blaye"*, British Library, *Cotton MS Augustus I ii 80 (1593). Plan of the later citadel and estuary "lock"* (even though it is Vauban's later work)

Le verrou de la Gironde; Gironde's Lock. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Boulogne

Date of action: from the month of April to August 7, 1514.

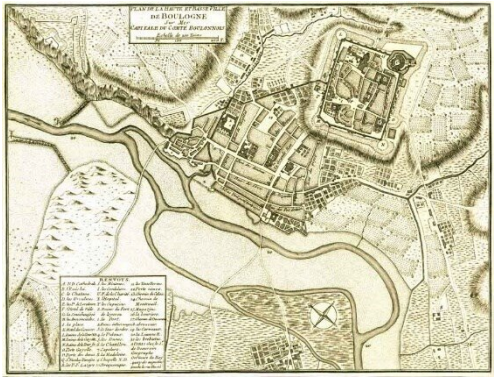
Location: North Sea Coasts, France. Geographical coordinates: 50° 43' north latitude, and 01° 37' east longitude.

Conflict: War of the Holy League. King Henry VIII of England acceded to it on November 13th, 1511.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. In November 1513, an English fleet arrived in front of Chef-de-Caux to carry out a landing. But Lieutenant-General Louis de Rouville mobilized the population and gathered a force of 7,000 men to repel this invasion. Faced with this display of forces, the English turned back. In April 1514, the French Prégent de Bidoux sailed along the coast of Sussex with ten light ships [galleys] and put ashore a landing corps to launch a raid against Brighton. But the English lookouts gave the alarm and Pregent had to turn back. Pregent re-embarked. He was sailing for Boulogne when an English squadron [Vice-Admiral Thomas Wyndham] followed him from Dover and sent a *faster* advance guard of five ships under the command of Stephen Bull to engage him and thus give the whole fleet time to arrive. But Pregent, sensing the trap, withdrew and went to wait for them under the walls and guns of Boulogne.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English* : Vice-Admiral Thomas Wyndham; Admiral Thomas Howard. ♦*French*: Admiral Prégent de Bidoux.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: 20 ships. ♦*French*: unknown.



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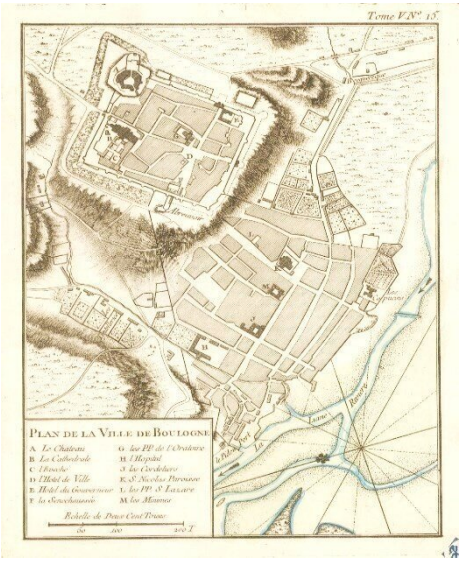
Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Boulogne was blocked on its seafront, but on the land side the blockade investment lines were never fully sealed. First a quick note: in standard modern historiography there is no fully documented, formal siege of Boulogne in 1514**.** Henry VIII *planned* to attack Boulogne in 1513–1514, but the war ended with the **Treaty of London** (7 August 1514) before such a siege was launched.

Summary of the action: Thomas Wyndham blockaded Boulogne, under the walls of which the Light Division of French galleys had taken refuge. Soon, Admiral Thomas Howard arrived with the rest of the English fleet. He formed two detachments of 10 ships, each under Henry Sherborne and Wiseman, one east and west of Boulogne, to surround the French galleys. On 27 May, he wrote a letter asking for a reinforcement of 6,000 men in order to blockade Boulogne by land and attack the city.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this action, on August 7, 1514, the Treaty of London ended the war, and the English fleet lifted the siege of Boulogne.

Source & Readings **♦Richard B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485–1588* (London, 1966). John J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968). ♦C. Giry-Deloison, "Le personnel diplomatique au début du XVIe siècle. L'exemple des relations franco-anglaises," *Journal des Savants* (1987).♦L.-P. Todière, *Histoire de Louis XII*, esp. vol. II, chaps. on 1513–1514. ♦Christine Shaw (ed.), *Italy and the European Powers: The Impact of War, 1500–1530* (Leiden, 2006). ♦Sieges of Boulogne (1544–1546). ♦Engraved siege plan (18th-c. copy of a 16th-c. original). ♦Plan of the Harbour and Fortifications of Boulogne" (John Russell, c.1804).♦Jacques-**



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Siege of Boulogne

Date of the Engagement: from 18 July to 14 September 1544.

Location: Boulogne-sur-Mer is a French port on the North Sea, 50° 43' North; 01° 37' East.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V[46]. French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and François I (de Valois) King of France. The latter was at war with Emperor Charles V, who was joined by the King of England. In July, the troops of Emperor Charles V burned Desvres, and, in October, the English garrison of Calais embarked on a short expedition to massacre the entire civilian population of the village of Audinghen who had taken refuge in its church, then these same soldiers ravaged the town of Marquise and its surroundings. The soldiers of Calais took such a liking to it that, in a few weeks, half of the Boulonnais was burned and ruined as far as the

[46] It was the German Empire, or *Holy Roman Empire*. Charles V or Quint was the son of Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna the Mad, Queen of Castile. He was born in Ghent in 1500 and died in Yuste in 1558. King of Spain in 1516, he was elected against Francis I, emperor of Germany in 1519. Master of immense estates, Spain and its American colonies, part of Italy, Flanders, Austria, he dreamed for a moment of universal domination, but he had to fight against Francis I of France, with whom he had to fight four hard wars: against Suleiman II, sultan of the Ottomans, and especially against the Lutherans of Germany. Tired, he abdicated in 1555 and retired to the monastery of Yuste (Spanish Extremadura).

gates of Boulogne. In several villages, the peasants were even burned in their church, a sacred place where they used to take refuge from the soldiers. These excesses led, in the medium term, to the loss of Calais by the English. On 14 July 1544, Henry VIII landed at Calais with 25,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and a large number of artillery pieces. On the 18th of July these troops, reinforced by the garrison of Calais, began the siege of Boulogne.

Opposing Commanders ♦King Henry VIII of England officially directed the siege. ♦The French garrison was commanded by the governor Jacques de Coucy, sire de Vervins.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦The *French* garrison at Boulogne numbered 1,800 men. ♦The besieging *English* army totaled 32,000 men with a large number of cannons.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Bombing and blockade. The governor of Boulogne, Coucy, capitulated so easily that he was tried by court-martial, condemned to death, beheaded, and —just for good measure— quartered ! This, however, was nothing compared with the fate reserved for Admiral René de Clermont, accused of cowardice during the naval battle of Brest [9 August 1512], and whose family was well established[47].

[47] The battle (sometimes given as 9 or 10 August 1512) was fought off Brest (near Pointe Saint-Mathieu) between an English fleet under Edward Howard and a combined French/Breton fleet under René de Clermont. The French/Breton fleet suffered heavy losses: the Breton flagship *Marie-la-Cordelière* exploded and sank, along with the English ship *Regent*. Despite his distinguished family background and title, René de Clermont's conduct must have been called into question, as we note the accusation of cowardice. We find **no record** that he was officially tried for cowardice, stripped of rank, or executed or exiled as a result of the battle. His reputation suffered, but we find no concrete sanction or outcome (for example a court-martial, imprisonment, or death tied to

Summary of the Action: Boulogne could only oppose the English with a garrison of 1,800 soldiers commanded by Jacques de Coucy, Sire de Vervins. Within the garrison, 500 Corsican mercenaries were placed under the orders of Captain Philippe... Corsican. But the population and the peasants who had taken refuge within its walls also participated in the defense of the city. The mayor was Antoine Eurvin [or Evryn]. The French troops of Marshal du Biez covered Montreuil. The Lower Town, which could not hold out long, was taken and sacked on the 21st of July. The garrison attempted a few sorties, and the fighting raged. The Tower of Odre was conquered on 22 July. The English had firmly established themselves on Mont Lambert [Boulemberg] which dominates the city. From there, they bombarded the city without interruption and thus caused many deaths and wounded. On 19 August, Captain Corsica died of mortal wounds. The mercenaries lost morale and hope. The attacks and bombardments redoubled. On 13 September 1544, Governor Coucy wanted to start negotiations for the surrender of the place, but the mayor and the burghers[48] opposed it, because they hoped to be rescued by the Dauphin of France. But, in spite of this opposition, Governor de Coucy opened the door to the English the next day without any other form of negotiation. The Duke of Suffolk received and accepted the keys to the city. As expected, the French inhabitants had to leave the city because Henry VIII wanted to make it an English city. A long and pitiful procession of 3,664 people left Boulogne: 1,927 women and children,

the accusation). It may be that the "cowardice" charge was informal or retrospective (by contemporaries or later historians) rather than an official verdict.

[48] Who knew that the English were going to expel them from the city and seize their property, as they had done in Calais.

1,563 pedestrians [infantrymen], 67 cavalrymen and 87 wounded. When the refugees passed in front of the English posts, the soldiers threw themselves on the women and girls—in spite of the clauses of the treaty of capitulation [49]—raped them on the spot, and plundered their baggage. No one came to their aid.

Casualties & Losses ♦A few hundred men on both sides, serial rapes, looting…

Aftermath and significance of this French Defeat : The strategic consequence of the capture of Boulogne by the English was that, eight years later, the French, fed up with the fact that the English were using Calais as a bridgehead to invade France or to ravage the road and martyr the local populations, recaptured this fortress from the English, who thus lost this northern Gibraltar. In this period of Renaissance, the strengthening of royal power over the great rebellious lords led to a military and tactical revival. Charles VII —who could no longer afford to rely only on his reluctant vassals to constitute the French army— created a standing professional army in France with Infantry, Franc-archers, Cavalry, and Companies of Ordinance[50]. In case of need, the French King also

[49] And in spite of the advice of the tactician of the time: "Item, keep the compositions and promises as they are made and granted. For otherwise all would be nothing in the end, and no people would ever have been sure of it. [Treatise on the War Arts, Berault Stuart, Martinus Mijhoff, The Hague, 1976. p.9; lines 229-231]

[50] The Companies of Ordinance were constituted with the approval of the States-General of Tours (1439). They were at first 15 in number, each comprising 100 lances filled, at the rate of 6 men per lance. It was in order to maintain them that the perpetual ladle [tax] was created. The "perpetual ladle" (in French: *la louche perpétuelle*) was **a** royal tax on wine**.** The term ***louche*** (literally "ladle") referred to the small quantity of liquid —usually wine—taken as a duty from each barrel sold or transported. The ***louche perpétuelle*** was thus a **permanent excise duty**.

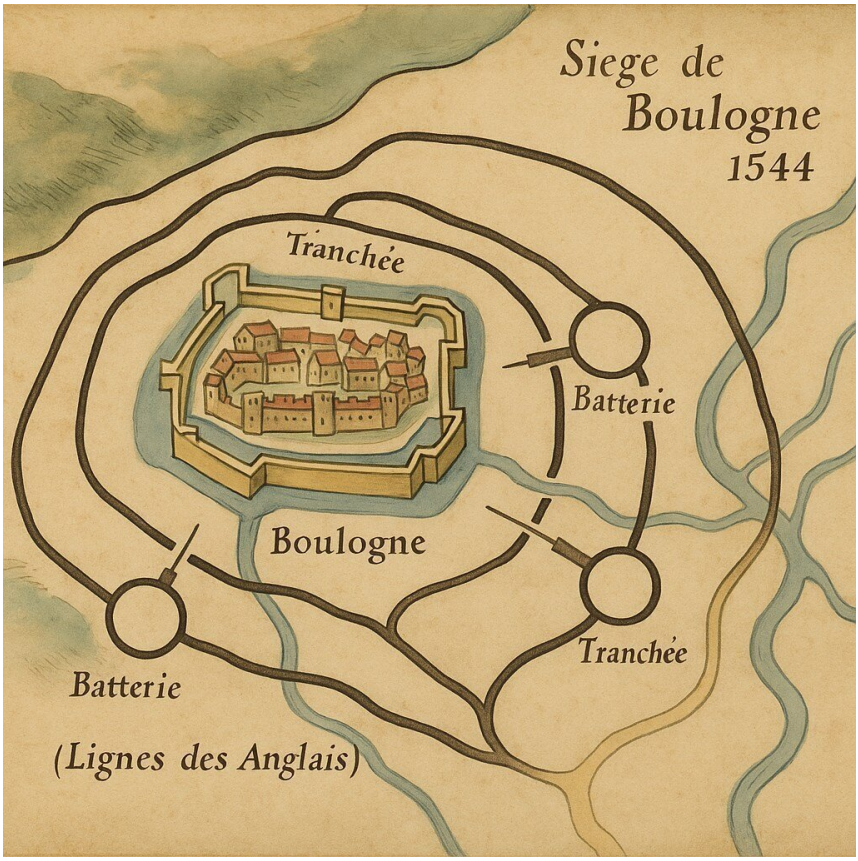
called on foreign mercenaries. Firearms appeared at this time as well. As a result, the tactics of the battles were divided into two phases: **1)** Preparatory Fire, **2)** Hand-to-hand combat. The Renaissance—with its return to Greco-Latin antiquity, its Roman legions, and its Greek formations—influenced the strategists of the time as they elaborated their tactics in *linear* or *geometric* deployments [especially the square]; and this until the French Revolution. Through these influences of the past, military tactics were subjected to technological innovations rather than used and exploited. The Infantry[51] and the Heavy Cavalry will resist firearms in compact squares for a long time to come. The Light Cavalry fought on the flanks and the archers and crossbowmen in front of the battlefront. On 30 September, Henri VIII abruptly turned back towards Calais, re-embarked on the road in haste and returned to put the Thames in a state of defense, for he had learned that the Emperor Charles V had just signed peace with France[52], and that, rid of Germany and Spain, France finally had a free hand against England. As a result, Henri VIII went from the offensive to the defensive. For this reason, too, Boulogne remained English for only six years. In the end, what the Dauphin could not obtain by diplomacy, he obtained by money. By the Treaty of Capécucure signed on 24 March 1550, England restored Boulogne to France for the modest sum of 400,000 gold crowns, which served only as a pretext for the King of England, preventing him from losing face with his subjects. On 25 April 1550, the French troops entered the city through the

[51] Army of the pike and, increasingly, of the musket. As at the beginning of the twentieth century, the traditional Cavalry had difficulty giving way to the ABC (1'Arme Blindée Cavalerie); and one could still see cavalry charges, sabers drawn, facing heavy machine guns.

[52] Peace of Crépy-en-Valois, initialled on 18 September 1544.

Porte de Gayole while the English troops and the English population —exiled in turn— left through the Flamengue Gate and headed for Calais. The French commander forbade the rape of English women, on pain of death. No woman or girl was abused. Yet the most important consequence of this English action was that the French realized how much of a permanent threat Calais posed to France, as the attack on Boulogne from that city had shown. So, faced with this evidence, the French decided to remove this sword of Damocles, and retook Calais from the English eight years later. The siege of Boulogne had thus led to an unforeseeable consequence.

Source & Readings **♦Neil Murphy,** ***The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550*** (Cambridge University Press, 2019). **♦Neil Murphy, "**Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–1546"**,** *Past & Present* 233/1 (2016), 13–52. **♦M. B. Davies, "**Surrey at Boulogne"**,** ***English*** *Historical Review* 75 (1960), 449–474. **♦Warwick Rodwell et al.,** The Sieges of Boulogne, 1544–1546. HistoryMaps **project. ♦King Henry VIII:** England's Siege of Boulogne – His Last War"**,** *Warfare History Network* (online article)**.** ♦Sieges of Boulogne (1544–1546**)**, *Wikipedia* (first siege 19 July–14 September 1544; second siege October 1544). ♦***Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII***. ♦***Acts of the Privy Council of England***, mid-1540s volumes. **♦Plan du siège de Boulogne par Henri VIII, 1544:** avec le tracé des positions et des travaux de l'armée anglaise"**,** Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica. d woodcut "The Capture/Siege of Boulogne, 1544.


Siege de
Boulogne
1544
Tranchée
Batterie
Boulogne
Tranchée
Batterie
(Lignes des Anglais)

Naval battle of Boulogne.

Date of action: 15 August 1545.

Location: French port on the North Sea, pronounced Boleyn in the Middle Ages. Geographical coordinates: 50° 43' north latitude, and 01° 37 east longitude.

Conflict: French participation in the Scottish War of Independence, which England sought to annex.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and François I (de Valois) King of France. Coming from Le Portel [a port located 3 km from Boulogne] where the French admiral d'Annebault had landed 4,000 soldiers and 3,000 pioneers for the siege of Boulogne [now an English city], the French fleet arrived off Rye on 9 August. In total, it consisted of nearly 150 sails. The reinforced English fleet reached the same number of ships and 12,000 men.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French* Admiral and Field Marshal Claude d'Annebault. ♦*English* Admiral John Dudley[53].

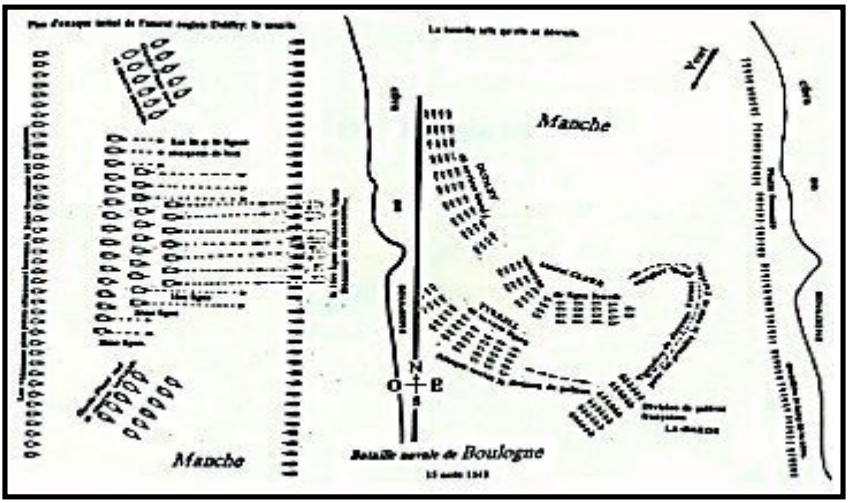
[53] John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland [1502-1553] became Viscount Isle and Lord High Admiral, and later Earl of Warwick. He helped Somerset invade Scotland and crush the Scots at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547. He had the same Somerset, who had become a political rival, executed in 1552. The following year, he conspired and plotted to have the English monarchy fall into the hands of his family, thereby excluding Henry VIII's two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Tudor. His sexist behavior cost him dearly. In August 1553,

Opposing Troops engaged ♦150 sails on both sides. The English had 12,000 men; the French probably the same number.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: English Admiral John Dudley's plan of attack was to arrange his fleet in three lines. At the front, 6 large Hanseatic hoots[54] 1 including the MARY of Hamburg. In the centre, 10 large ships including the HENRI - GRACE -DE-DIEU. Behind them, 16 large ships. On each wing, 11 large flanking ships. Smaller ships would support the whole. The English fleet would rush against the French, into whom it would have to enter as a wedge. The first line would then have to turn around and take the French from the rear by attacking them in the back, while the second and third lines would form the second jaw of the pincer. On the wings, the cruisers, which would not take part in the initial clash, would serve as a tactical reserve. they should assist the ships that would have the underside.

Mary Tudor, who had become queen, ended her long political career as head of England by having her collar cut off for high treason.

[54] The *Hanseatic League* was a group of commercial cities in northwestern Germany, headed by Lübeck. The Hanseatic League dates from 1241; its object was to protect the trade of the German cities against the pirates of the Baltic, and to defend their franchises, that is to say, their monopolies, against the neighboring princes. This amounted to limiting the freedom of trade of princes who were not part of this trade association, and thus to suppressing competition, dream of any multinational. The Hanseatic League was more or less the German counterpart of the English *Cinque Ports*, on the model of which the League had been founded. Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Cologne were the principal centers. This political, commercial, and military confederation, which flourished for several centuries, and which extended its trade far and wide, numbered, at the end of the fifteenth century, 64 cities, possessed fleets, an army, a treasury, and a special government. The navy of these cities ended up reserving for itself the monopoly of the Baltic trade. The League had connections with the Cinque Ports of England and as far as Novgorod in Russia. In decline from the sixteenth century, the Hanseatic opened its last ports to general trade in 1723.



Summary of the Action: On the evening of the 13th of August, learning of the approaching arrival of the English, the French admiral formed up in battle near Boulogne, his ships cornered on the shore. The galleys of La Garde sheltered from the wind, in tactical reserve behind a strip of land. Little concerned with glory, laurels and felicity, d'Annebault[55] sent message after message to ask for permission to... return to Le Havre. On August 14, a courier sent him the answer: "*Fight first!*" The galleys were therefore ordered on the evening of the 14th, to look for the English, whom they found on the 15th of August, off Shoreham. The English column [head to the east and tail to the north, roberges and other cruisers on the wings] consisted of 24 Flemish hurques accompanied by 10 other ships carrying 3,800 men in the vanguard[56], forty ships of the line

[55] Claude d'Annebau[l]t, marshal and admiral of France, minister of Francis I . He victoriously defended Turin against Charles V. He died in 1552 at La Fère. At the time of the naval battle of Boulogne, he was plagued by the famous warlord syndrome before the battle: the fear of losing everything with a single throw of the dice.

[56] Under the orders of Vice-Admiral Thomas Clere.

loaded with 6,846 men in the Centre [Admiral Dudley] and a light squadron of 40 galleasses [57] and roberges in *flank guards* [58] mounted by 2,092 soldiers. A formidable Royal Navy! It was the light squadron that withstood the shock of the French. The French galleys of La Garde gained speed at the head of the English column to have it to leeward and bombard it. The galleasses of the English flank-guard, La GRAUNDE - MAISTRESSE[59] , L'ANNE - GALAUNTE [60] [Vice-Admiral Legge], the GREYHOUND and La GALLEY-SUBTILE, opposed the advance of the French by a violent fire. The artillery of the French galleys retaliated, and the GRAUNDE-MAISTRESSE and La GALLEY-SUBTILE [Captain Edgar Jones], the two most powerful ships in the squadron, were badly damaged, as was a roberge. Having fired its broadsides, La Garde tacked to lure and attract the English toward the main body of the French fleet. But Pierre Strozzi, with his four galleys, did not follow La Garde; wishing to preserve the advantage of the wind[61] , he dashed directly against the main body of the English

[57] Galeasse or galeace: n.f., a ship with oars and sails heavier than the galley. In fact, the essential difference between the galley and the galleasse consisted in the fact that the former had its "swimming chamber" [where the galley slaves lived] in the open air, while the galleasse had covered it and surmounted it with an open deck made of gratings [slatted trellils that closed the hatches by letting the light through] which was used to operate the sails, but it made the ship heavier. The artillery, rather weak and badly arranged, consisted of 34 cannons and 10 pierriers.

[58] Admiral William Tyrrell and Vice-Admiral Legge

[59] Admiral Tyrrell; or Grand-Mistress in old French, Henry VIII's mother tongue.

[60] The Anne Galante; this was again Anne de Boleyn or de Boulogne, a Frenchwoman born in that city, titular grand mistress of Henry VIII. Anne was accused of adultery by Jeanne Seymour [short for Saint-Maurice], and beheaded in the Tower of London. She was the mother of the future Queen Elizabeth I. Seymour became Queen of England in Anne's place.

[61] It is understood that even if, at the time of the fight, the galleys were not propelled by the wind but by the oars, they were to prevent the English ships from taking advantage of the wind.

fleet [Admiral Dudley], soon followed by five or six other galleys. At last La Garde himself, seeing that his captain had not followed him, returned to lend him a hand. But the Royal Navy, instead of continuing the fight (after two long hours), retreated to Beachy Head[62], abandoning the battle zone to the French squadron.

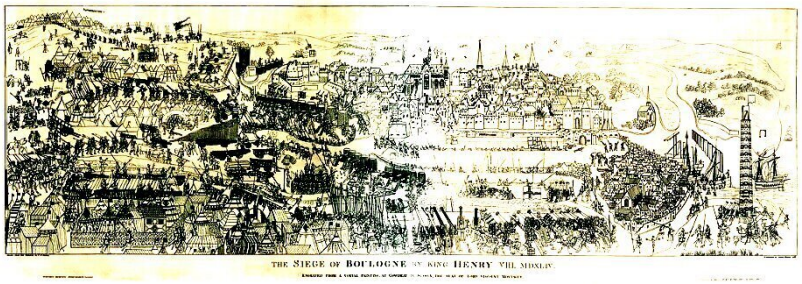
Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat: Instead of pursuing the routed English, Admiral d'Annebault, who had fought only on the express order of the King, hastened to disarm at Le Havre, where the population received him very coldly, precisely because he had not pursued the English to destroy their fleet.

Source & Readings ♦**Neil Murphy,** ***The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550*** (Cambridge University Press, 2019). ♦**Neil Murphy, "**Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–1546"**,** *Past & Present* 233/1 (2016), 13–52. ♦**M. B. Davies, "**Surrey at Boulogne"**, *English Historical Review* 75 (1960), 449–474. ♦**Warwick Rodwell et al.,** The Sieges of Boulogne, 1544–1546. HistoryMaps **project. ♦King Henry VIII:** England's Siege of Boulogne – His Last War"**,** *Warfare History Network* (online article)**.** ♦Sieges of Boulogne (1544–1546**)**, *Wikipedia* (first siege 19 July–14 September 1544; second siege October 1544). ♦***Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII***. ♦***Acts of the Privy Council of England***, mid-1540s volumes. ♦**Plan du siège de Boulogne par Henri VIII, 1544: avec le tracé des positions et des travaux de l'armée anglaise"**, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica.

[62] Beauchef for the French, by euphony.

The Siege of Boulogne by King Henry VIII in 1544. Priv.Coll.



Siege of Boulogne[-sur-mer]

Date of the Engagement: 1545 - March 1550.

Location: Boulogne-sur-Mer is located at 5(743' Latitude North and 01° 37' Longitude East.

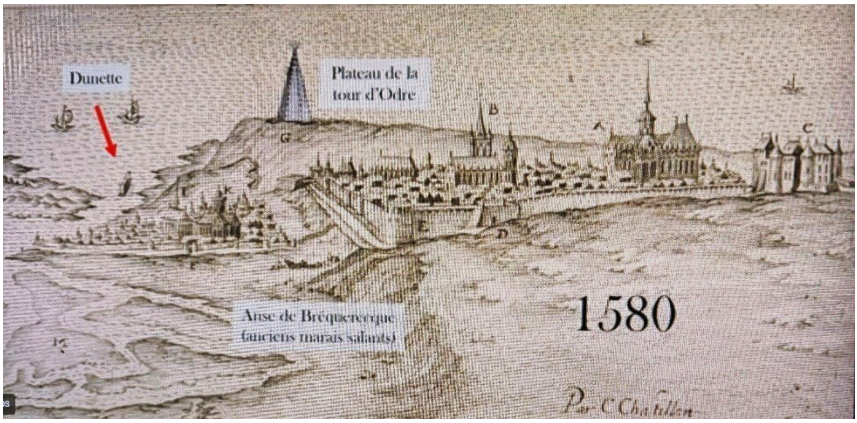
Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. Reconquest of the English bridgehead of Pas-de-Calais.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England at the beginning of the siege and Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt at the end. In France, François I (de Valois) ruled up to March 1547, then Henri II (de Valois). Four days after the occupation of Boulogne by the English, the Treaty of Crépy-en-Valois was signed, which put an end to the Franco-Spanish hostilities that the English had taken advantage of to seize Boulogne. Finally having a free hand, the Dauphin Henry of France [the future King Henry II] moved with his army to retake the city. The new siege began immediately, in 1545.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Constable [Connétable] de Montmorency; Lieutenant-General Gaspard de Coligny, on the land side, and Captain de Villegagnon on the maritime side. ♦*English*: Vice-Admiral Clinton.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: To isolate the two English possessions of Boulogne and Calais, the Constable of Montmorency and François de Guise decided to attack and remove the

"*Slack lines*", i.e. the strongpoints that served as land lines of communication between those two fortresses. The siege of Boulogne, which had begun as early as 1545[63], and had been conducted intermittently since then, was now being actively pursued. The circumvallation trench[64] extended south of Boulogne on the left bank of



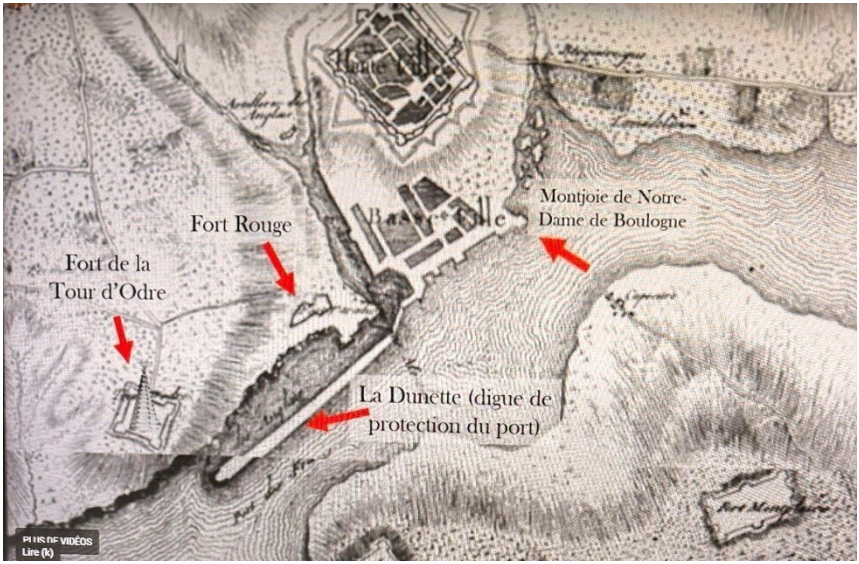
the Liane River. These trench lines of circumvallation ran from Fort d'Outreau [opposite the town] to Fort de Châtillon, built by the French to beat the entrance of the harbor and fire on the Tour d'Odre[65]. The energetic Vice Admiral Clinton had a brick fort built, *Fort Paradis* or *Fort du Jeune-Homme*, which covered the port and the lower town to the northwest. A wall 30 m long, 8 m high, and lined with casemates and batteries with a garrison of 100 soldiers, extended outward in a *pointed shape* [saillant] at the entrance of

[63] At the time of the Battle of Portsmouth, when the French admiral d'Annebault landed 4,000 soldiers and 3,000 pioneers at Le Portel.

[64] Opened at the end of August 1549.

[65] The *Tour d'Odre ou d'Ordre* was a Roman lighthouse, modified in the Middle Ages, collapsed in 1644, which dominated the port of Boulogne [-sur-Mer]. It was the first French lighthouse whose existence is proven.

the channel, in order to shelter the English fleet against the artillery of Fort de Chatillon. This wall, made of solid rock, seemed very effective. It did so, indeed, because it resisted 3 weeks of assaults. The Franco-English negotiations at the end of the siege were concluded in February 1550, and the French obtained the capitulation of the English garrison[66], for half of what it would have cost under the terms of the Conventions of 1546.



Summary of the Action: On September 30, 1544, Taix, Montluc and Fouquesolles attacked the Lower Town and occupied it. From there, they tried to break into the Upper Town but without success. The army of the King of France therefore settled on the hill of Outreau which dominated the port, and built Fort-Montplaisir[67] and Fort-Châtillon below. Opposite, the English fortified the Tour

[66] Signed in March 1550.
[67] Also called *Fort d'Outreau*.

d'Odre and built the fort located between this tower and the Lower Town. Fort Paradis was erected by the English near the port. The French built the Pidou pier and the English the La Dunette pier. From time to time, fighting broke the monotony of military life. But soon the plague intervened and began to decimate the soldiers on both sides with equal equity. While the French army invested Boulogne, the English precipitately abandoned the Boulemberg, burned the fort and withdrew into Boulogne in order to increase the garrison and better ensure its defense. The French of course took possession of the Boulemberg and the main body of the army came to camp at the village of Wimille, to move from there against *La Tour d'Odre,* whose attack was decided. This tower had not ceased to be, since 1544, one of the key sensitive points on which the English had concentrated their forces. It dominated the port as well as the city, and, since the destruction of the pier of La Dunette[68], it had acquired an importance that the King of France assessed at its true value. The capture of the Tour d'Odre would at the same time place the port and the Lower Town at the mercy of the French; the rest could only follow and the conquest of the city was certain. Henry II of France, therefore, lost no time: scarcely had his army taken up a position at Wimille and in the neighbouring hamlets, when the King ordered the opening of a trench not far from the Tower d'Odre, in order to erect a work intended at the same time to breach this fortress and to prevent it from being supplied by sea or by land. While the pioneers were working to dig the trench, an incident occurred. Three English ships loaded with men and ammunition presented themselves in the roadstead, on the side

[68] Built by the besieged English.

of the Moulin-Wibert, in front of the French. These reinforcements were originally intended to Ambleteuse, but the capture and confiscation of this stronghold by the French had determined the English to try to introduce at least the ammunition into the Tower of Odre[69]. They boldly put into the sea two small boats, in which three men took their places, each laden with a bag of powder or silver (money), and who immediately made their way to the tower. The French had seen and understood all these movements. Some besieged Englishmen immediately went to meet their three compatriots, and a skirmish ensued; the latter, although supported by "covering fire" as soon as they left the Tower of Odre, had great difficulty in reaching the others. One of them was killed, another wounded; however, nothing fell into the power of the French. The soldiers of the tower took the three bags and took away the three men. The alarm was sounded, the English were probably going to attempt a landing that the garrison of the Tower of Odre would perhaps come to support by a combined sortie. But the King of France put an obstacle in the way of the execution of this presumed design. He had a few cannonballs fired at the three ships anchored in the roadstead, and, by this unexpected aggression, forced them to break their cables in order to get away as quickly as possible. On this side, therefore, the English of Boulogne lost, for the moment, all hope of assistance. At the same time, and without allowing himself to be distracted by any other operation, the King of France had the work of countervallation continued. Fortunately for the English, the bad season arrived. The torrential rains quickly soaked the

[69] Enormous, fortified lighthouse built by the Romans to guide navigators across the English Channel.

ground and made it impossible to camp. The French were therefore forced to postpone the re-execution of the siege until the spring, thus giving the English time to catch their breath. They raised the camp of Wimille, distributed themselves among the various conquered forts, and the lords and the King returned to their estates. However, the successes of the French in the Boulonnais had cooled the confidence of the English and altered their hopes. The wanton destruction by their [English] soldiers of the church of Notre-Dame-de-Boulogne had shocked both the French and English populations of the region, whose beliefs were charged with superstitious emotionality. Henceforth, in the minds of all, the impious English could only lose the game. The Duke of Somerset therefore tried to come to an agreement with France. The French demanded that Boulogne be restored to them in order to accept peace. On January 20th, 1550, the negotiators were appointed on both sides. On 24 March, a treaty was signed which restored Boulogne to France with all the forts built by the English[70]. In compensation, Henry II of France would pay 400,000 ecus to King Edward of England.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat, France had included Scotland, its protégé, in the Convention of 1546. But, in spite of the peace, ten French and Gascon companies[71] under the command of Colonel de La Chapelle-Biron, remained in this

[70] Including cannons and ammunition.

[71] Since the end of the Hundred Years' War, and even before, the Gascons had been fighting in favor of France.

country threatened by English imperialism [to use an anachronism] to garrison it and ward off any English aggression.

Source & Readings ♦**Neil Murphy,** *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550.* (1550). ♦**Neil Murphy,** "Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–1546"**,** *Past & Present*, 233 (2016), p. 13–50. ♦**P. Héliot,** "Les fortifications de Boulogne sous l'occupation anglaise (1544–1550)"**,** *Revue du Nord* 40/157 (1958), p. 225. (on the English fortification system around Boulogne). ♦**Howard Colvin (ed.),** *The History of the King's Works***,** vol. 3, part 1 (HMSO, 1975), pp. 383–393. ♦**Chapter "The Siege of Boulogne, 1544"** in **D. Potter,** ***Henry VIII and Francis I***. ♦**Sieges of Boulogne (1544–1546)"**, online encyclopaedia article. Wikipedia+1 ♦**Popular narrative**: *"King Henry VIII of England and the Siege of Boulogne: His Last War"*, *Warfare History Network*, 2009. ♦***Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI***. ♦**W. K. Jordan,** *The Chronicle and Political Papers of Edward VI* (1966). ♦**A. de Rosny,** *"Documents inédits, concernant les sièges de Boulogne, 1548–1549"***,** in *Mémoires de la Société académique de Boulogne*, vol. 27 (1912). ♦**Royal Collection Trust –** *"View of Boulogne, 1549: A Representation of the Siege of Boulogne by the French in 1549"* (H. van Schoel).

Siege of Brest.

Date of the Engagement: from 14 June 1489 to 15 November 1491.

Location: Finistère, Brittany, France, Geographical coordinates: 48° 24' North latitude, and 04° 29' West longitude.

Conflict: War of the Breton Succession.

Historical Background: Henry VII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VIII (de Valois) King of France. Francis II [or *Fanche II*] of Brittany died on 9 September 1488, leaving his daughter Anne, sole heiress to the Duchy of Brittany. Her hand was, therefore, highly coveted.

Opposing Commanders ♦Anglo-Breton: Marshal de Rieux; Robert Willoughby, Sieur de Broke, commanded the Anglo-Breton forces. Bizien de Kerousi ♦Franco-Breton: Rohan, Admiral de Graville.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦Unknown number of recruits.

ENTRÉE DU PORT DE BREST AVEC LE CHÂTEAU À L'EST

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Blockade

the city and cannonade against the walls. Brest was the key to the whole of Brittany.

Summary of the action: The pro-French Breton party [Rohan] set out on a campaign and besieged Brest, which capitulated in February 1489, before the Breton vice-admiral Bizien de Kerousi, sent by Anne of Brittany, could intervene. The English had also been preceded by this pro-French coup de main. The King of England had sent, at the beginning of 1489, a party (raiders) of 600 men to seize the castle of Brest; without success. The King of England, Henry Vll Tudor[72], then sent an army to Brittany, under the command of Robert Willoughby, Lord of Broke. Thus, the 1,200 French garrison of Brest and Concarneau found themselves isolated from June onwards and surrounded by the Anglo-Breton army of Marshal de Rieux. On 14 June, the Breton admiral Bizien occupied the passes of Brest with 22 ships. He was still waiting for about twenty ships. But the garrison held firm. At the end of August, the French reinforcement squadron arrived [Admiral de Graville]. The Breton squadron, weakened by the long cruise, had to retreat. After a siege of seven months, Rieux finally broke camp with his Anglo-Breton army, in the face of the imminent arrival of Saint-André. In their haste, the Anglo-Bretons abandoned all their siege artillery. Due to a lack of financial means, Anne of Brittany sent part of the English army back to England, because London, always concerned with *profitability*, required her to maintain the English auxiliary army. In the spring of 1490, Willougby's English

[72] Although installed on the throne thanks to the support of the French, Henry soon regained his own interests.

squadron blocked access to Brest to prevent French reinforcements from reaching it by sea. Despite this blockade, a reinforcement of 2,000 Frenchmen, as well as abundant supplies, still managed to enter by sea in several incursions organized by Jean du Bellay and de Rouville: in August 1490, November 1490, April 1491 and July 1491.

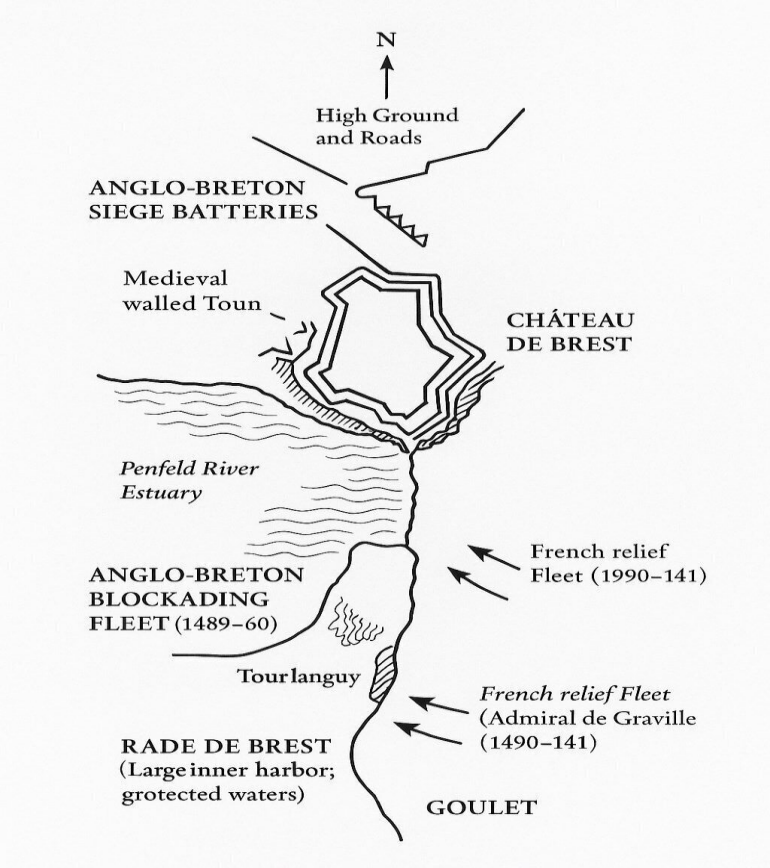
Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this Anglo-Breton defeat, on November 15th, 1491, France and Brittany signed peace, and, consequently, on December 6 of the same year, *King Charles VIII of France married Anne of Brittany, thus definitively attaching this province to France*. For the greater benefit of the ordinary people, there was no longer a feudal house capable of keeping the King in check, as had been the case with Burgundy, Brittany or Normandy[73].

Source & Readings ♦**Anne de France (Anne de Beaujeu),** *Enseignements à sa fille, suivis de l'Histoire du siège de Brest*, éd. Tatiana Clavier & Éliane Viennot, Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006. ♦***Histoire du siège de Brest***, written c.1503, ♦**J. S. C. Bridge,** *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century***, vol. 1, London, early 20th c. ♦Michael Jones,** *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State*, Hambledon, 1988. ♦**Yves Le Gallo (dir.),** *Histoire de Brest*, Toulouse, Privat, 1976. ♦**Yves Coativy,** *Brest, port de guerre / port en guerre au bas Moyen Âge***,** in *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 2015. ♦***Articles on Anne de France and her Histoire du siège de Brest***,

[73] Whose duke was once King of England.

Amsterdam University Press, 2018. ♦Entries **"Guerre de Bretagne" and "Château de Brest"** in French Wikipedia (and cited works therein).



Naval battle of Brest.

Date of the Engagement: 10 August 1512.

Location: In Iroise Sea. This naval engagement is often called the *Battle of Saint-Mathieu* (10 August 1512) off the Breton coast near Pointe Saint-Mathieu. Finistère, Brittany, France; Geographical coordinates: 48°31' North latitude, and 04° 79' West longitude.

Conflict: War of the Holy League. King Henry VIII of England acceded to it on November 13th, 1511.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. Pope Julius II had leagued [coalized] against Louis XII of France: the Emperor of Germany, Spain, England, Veneto [Venice], Switzerland, Tuscany [Florence] and Liguria [Genoa]. The French squadron, not concerned with papal excommunication and Canon Law, concentrated at Brest to intercept the English raids.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French* Vice-Admiral René de Clermont; Hervé de Portzmoguer [or Primauguet]. ♦*English* Admiral Edward Howard, Sir Edward.

Opposing Troops engaged in the ♦*English* fleet: 51 warships of large tonnage and *26 Flemish* ships intended to serve as fireships to set fire to French ships. ♦*French*: 21 warships. Some historians say: 25 English ships (not counting the Flemish) against 22 French.

Strategic and Tactical considerations: Attack in packs, with cannon, by several English ships, against two Frenchmen, under the eyes of the French admiral who did not intervene [74].

Summary of the action: During the night of 9 to 10 August 1512, an English fleet, with papal support and benediction, was announced[75]. Hervé de Portzmoguer, captain of La Cordelière, had guests on board. He weighed anchor without taking the time to disembark them, and rushed toward the English fleet, determined not to be trapped in the roadstead of Brest. Around eleven o'clock that morning, the English Admiral Howard had sighted the twenty-one French warships anchored outside the Brest Gully, between the Pointe de Saint-Mathieu and the Pointe de Toulinguet, about three miles offshore. The English fleet consisted of 51 warships of large tonnage and 26 Flemish hourques. Judging the odds too unequal, the French captains tacked to fall back into the Brest Gully and took no part in the action. The ships of the first rank, La LOUISE, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral René de Clermont, and La CORDELIÈRE [Captain Hervé de Portzmoguer, known as Primauguet]

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[74] The causes of this non-intervention have never been determined. Was it for religious reasons or out of cowardice? He was later deposed but soon returned to favor; which leaves suspicion.

[75] In 1512 the Pope was an Italian Julius II (born Giuliano della Rovere, 1443–1513). He reigned from 1503 to 1513 and was one of the most politically activist popes of the Renaissance. His Nickname: Il Papa Terribile ("the Terrible Pope"), due to his strong will and fiery temper. Achievements: He restored and expanded the temporal power of the Papal States by leading military campaigns to recover lands seized by local rulers. He convened the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) to reform church abuses and assert papal authority. He was a major patron of the arts — he commissioned Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling and Bramante's design for the new St. Peter's Basilica. Foreign policy: He was a key architect of the League of Cambrai (1508) against Venice, and later of the Holy League (1511) against France. He died in February 1513, and was succeeded by Pope Leo X (Giovanni de Medici).

covered the retreat, supported by a small ship "La NEF-DE-D1EPPE" and bravely faced the enemy. The English were now scarcely two leagues away; the sea was rough and the wind was strong[76]. Two English ships detached themselves, and, forcing the sails, took an advance of a quarter of a league. One of them threw himself on La LOUISE, and, overwhelming her with a hail of cannonballs, broke her mainmast. It was the English Admiral Howard on board the MARY-ROSE[77]. Although La LOUISE was larger[78], the admiral of France ordered[79] his ship to retreat. The admiral watched from a distance the last two French ships being demolished by a swarm of English and Flemings. The MARY JAMES [Captain Thomas Ughtred] attacked La CORDELIERE. The MARY JAMES [only 400 tons] circled around the slower La CORDELIÈRE, like a wasp around an aurochs, and at each passage filled her sides with cannonballs almost at the level of the waterline. Meanwhile, the bulk of the English fleet arrived, and in particular the huge REGENT and SOVEREIGN[80]. The SOVEREIGN [Ch. Brandon] immediately let herself be carried towards La CORDELIÈRE to attack her, but, far from being intimidated, La CORDELIÈRE, with a murderous broadside, smashed hier mast and forced her to leave the battle zone to recuperate. The REGENT [1,000 tons, Thomas Knyvet] who was preparing to attack La NEF-DE-DIEPPE, seeing Le SOVEREIGN moving away, came to the aid. La CORDELIERE, though much smaller, threw herself upon

[76] Headwind.
[77] 500 tons; 400 men.
[78] 790 tons; 600 crewmen.
[79] "Cowardky" French chronicles commented.
[80] 1,000 tons each.

the Englishman in order to keep her to leeward, and began to fire at her[81], while on the second and third floors of the rear castle and on the front floor, a cloud of arms spewed their grape-shot in all directions. La CORDELIÈRE had only 50 gunners and 100 arquebusiers to hold her own against the 100 gunners and 400 soldiers of the Regent, as well as the batteries of the MARY JAMES and a third English ship which escorted the REGENT[82]. Hervé de Primauguet, captain of La Cordelière, had all his guns fired. Thomas Knyvet, of the REGENT, was killed; his ship had a broken mast. A third of the English crew was *hors-de-combat*[83] . On board La CORDELIÈRE, only the gunners were engaged. In the steerage, the company of soldiers —800 soldiers and 300 gentlemen— was waiting for the order to act. The old CORDELIÈRE was watering on all sides. Primauguet then ordered the boarding, and soon the grappling hooks united the two ships in a deathly embrace. Blood flowed; the dead covered the bridges. After two and a half hours of fierce struggle, the balance began to tip in favor of the English. *In the distance, on the Brest side, the French fleet watched the massacre as did the rest of the English fleet that was not engaged.* Then a French soldier voluntarily set the powder on fire; in the enormous explosion that followed, Le RÉGENT and La CORDELIERE blew up in the fin air.

Casualties & Losses ♦Of the 1,250 Frenchmen on board La CORDELIÈRE [including 1,100 unused soldiers, 50 gunners and 100 sailors], only about twenty survived. ♦Of the REGENT, about 60

[81] With 16 pieces of large caliber that sent stones from 100 to 120 pounds.

[82] Its "matelot".

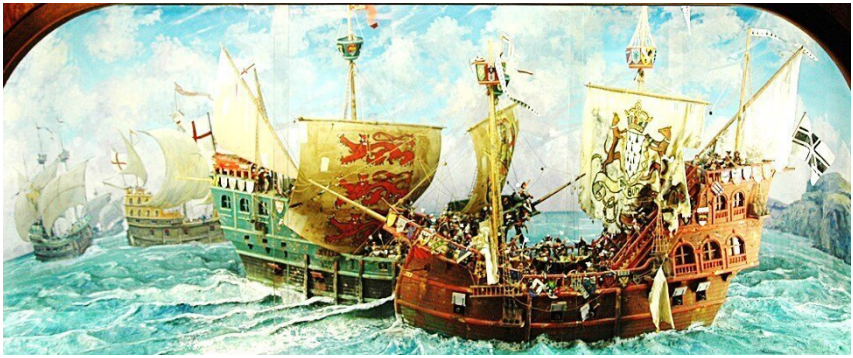
[83] 30 killed and 60 wounded, out of 300, not counting the troops.

survived out of the 800 men (300 men of the crew and 400 soldiers. Three English gunners [out of 100] survived.

Aftermath and Significance of this French defeat was that the two ships had volatized each other. The French Vice-Admiral René de Clermont was dismissed for cowardice, but he soon returned to favor[84]. He was again Vice-Admiral on the accession of Francis I . The English fleet remained inactive in front of Brest for three days. Then, on the 13th, Admiral Howard landed a troop that set fire to 27 various boats and took 5 others with 800 prisoners, then re-embarked in haste before the French troops intervened.

Source & Readings ♦**Spont, Alfred**. *Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512-1513.* (Navy Records Society) — collection of contemporary correspondence and naval records. ♦**Guérout, Max.** *Le dernier combat de la Cordelière.* Serpent de Mer, 2002. ♦**Toudouze, Georges G**. *Hervé de Portzmoguer et "Marie la Cordelière", d'après les témoins oculaires de 1512.* In *Fantômes des Combats*. ♦**Ridgway, Claire.** "The Battle of Saint-Mathieu – 10 August 1512." *The Tudor Society* (online article). ♦**Rodger, N. A. M**. *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649.* (London, 1997). ♦Various authors in *"A Day in History: 10th August 1512"*, Early Modern Forum, University of Warwick. ♦Le combat de la Cordelière 10 août 1512, bibliographie de JP Clochon" on the blog *Recherches-Historiques Le Conquet*. ♦**Leguay, Jean-Pierre & Martin, Hervé.** *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale.* Ouest-France Université, 1982.

[84] Out of protection from his family.



The Combat of La Cordelière. Priv.Coll.

Naval combat of Brest.

Date of the Engagement: 24 April 1513.

Location: Finistère, Brittany, France. Geographical coordinates: 48° 24' north latitude, and 04° 29' west longitude.

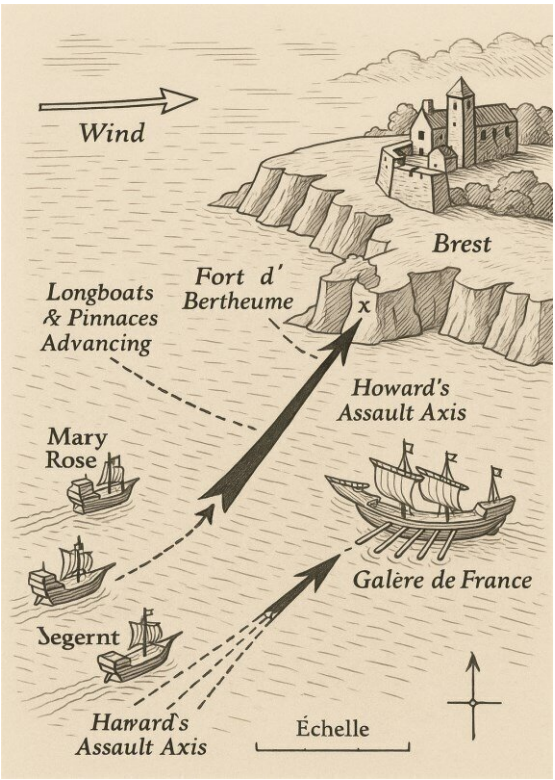
Conflict: War of the Holy League[85]. King Henry VIII of England acceded to it on November 13, 1511.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. This country had to face a coalition fomented by Pope Julius II. The latter had leagued seven countries against Louis XII of France. The treaties of 23rd March and 1st April 1513 rid France of two powerful adversaries: Venice and Spain. In 1513, England, which was trying to thwart the union of Brittany with France, attempted to destroy the French squadron under the walls of Brest.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Vice-Admiral Guyon Le Roi, Sieur du Chillou. ♦*English*: Admiral Edgar Howard.

[85] In fact, the name of Holy League was given to four armed Catholic associations. The first two, from 1495 to 1496 and from 1508 to 1514, were aimed at ousting the French from Italy; the third, from 1576 to 1593, was directed in France against the Calvinists; the fourth and last, 1569-1571 and 1664-1699, was grouped against the Turks. In fact, the first two were not well delimited in time. There were also frequent resurgences; for example in 1521.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦*English* squadron consisted of 24 warships and 6,480 men; each ship was flanked by a transport of supplies armed for combat. ♦The *French* squadron of Chillou had 15 ships, including galleys, not counting 24 hourques intended to serve as brulots [fireships].



Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The French line was fixed, each naval unit solidly immovable (embossed) by several anchors, and flanked by a few batteries hastily installed on the rocks. Fireships were to be launched at the English if the ebb current permitted. The English sought to board but were repulsed by crossfire.

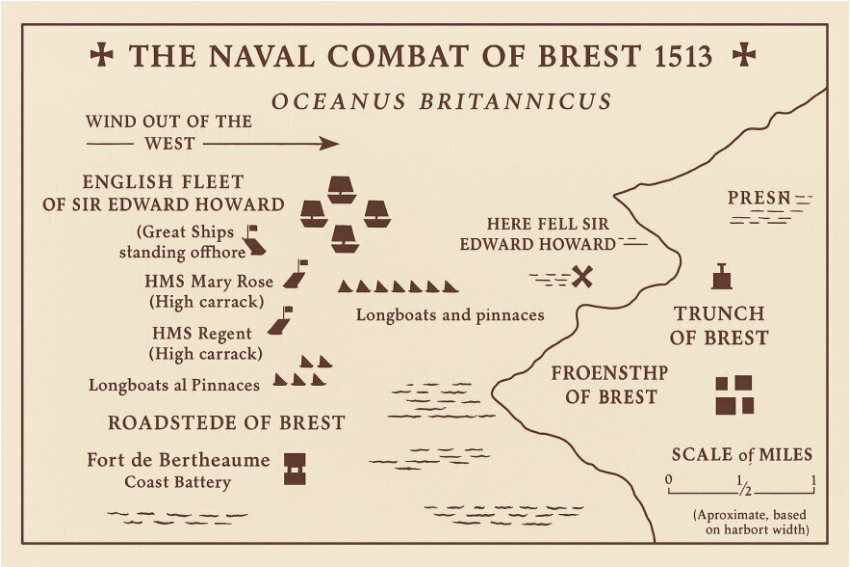
Summary of the Action: Having made the decision to attack the French squadron under the walls of Brest, the English line advanced in battle order into the narrows, but the ship of the Anglo-Angevin prince Arthur Plantagenet ran aground on a reef and Howard gave the order to fall back on Bertheaulme Bay. Du Chillou took advantage of this to

fortify himself under the castle of Brest by placing a line of 24 hourques which, in the event of an English assault, were to drift in flames on the English fleet and set it on fire with the ebb current. On 24 April, therefore, Admiral Howard launched his attack while large English ships returned to anchor 6 km away, in front of Pointe Saint-Mathieu, in order to prevent any attempt by Du Chillou's squadron to escape. Admiral Howard placed himself at the head of the lighter ships with the larger ships, the MARIE-ROSE, the HENRY, the SOVEREIGN, the GREAT BARK, the CRYST, the SANCHO-DE-GARRA, the CHRISTOPHER DAVY, the PETER POMEGARNET, and the SWEEPSTAKE. The whole line advanced on the French galleys. While the English were making their battle arrangements, Pregent de Bidoux had erected on the most advanced rocks of the coast a few batteries of 4 pieces of cannon. When The MARIE-ROSE, who led the English line, had come close enough, he was caught in the cross-fire of the galleys and land batteries. In spite of this, Admiral Howard managed to jump with 17 men on the railing of Pregent; suddenly, her mooring undid and The MARIE-ROSE moved away from the French ship. The English, who remained isolated with the French, were massacred after a desperate fight. The HENRY attempted to free the admiral, but was forced to retreat after suffering casualties of 45 killed. Other English ships desperately charged the French galleys to break their oars and approached within boarding distance, but their vain attempts were paid heavily in human lives. Finally, after a bloody battle, the English retreated, joined the other units of their fleet anchored in front of Pointe Saint-Mathieu, and soon disappeared beyond the horizon.

Casualties & Losses : Heavy on both sides.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat : The next day, April 26, three English ships carrying the white cross flag of the parliamentarians came to inquire about the fate of the friend of the Admiral Edgar Howard. They searched for his corpse. He was fished out two days later by the French, embalmed and sent to his family in England. Admiral Thomas Howard, brother of the victim, succeeded him at the head of the English squadron.

Source & Readings ♦ **Yves Le Gallo,** *Histoire de Brest*, Toulouse, Privat, 1976. ♦**Yves Coativy,** *Brest, port de guerre / port en guerre au bas Moyen Âge***,** in *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 2015. ♦***Articles on Anne de France and her Histoire du siège de Brest***, Amsterdam University Press, 2018. ♦



Attack on Brest.

Date de l'action : Early 1546.

Location: Port of War located in the Breton Finistère[86], France. Geographical coordinates: 48° 24' north latitude, and 04° 29' west longitude[87].

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was temporarily at a standstill. French participation in the War of Independence of Scotland, a country resisting English annexation.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and François I (de Valois) King of France. At the end of the reign of Francis I, the defenses of the French coastline were abandoned. In Brest, Château-Chalon de La Châtière[88] had removed the artillery from the castle, of which he was in charge... to equip his own ships with them as a privateer. (!) The Attack on Brest in 1546 was a minor but symbolic Anglo-French naval encounter during the closing years of the *Italian Wars*[89] and Henry

[86] In contrast to Spanish or even English Finisterre (Land's End). Note that the Spanish Finisterre is spelled in an original way.
[87] At the end of the twentieth century, thirty meters below the castle, the immense ultra-secret headquarters of the French Atlantic Fleet was dug, which can only be entered by pressing fingerprints in a computer system.
[88] The governor of the fortress.
[89] Italian Wars, (1494–1559) series of violent wars for control of Italy. Fought largely by France and Spain but involving much of Europe, they resulted in the Spanish Habsburgs dominating Italy and shifted power from Italy to northwestern Europe. The wars began with the invasion of Italy by the French king Charles VIII in 1494. He took Naples,

VIII's long maritime rivalry with François I. It took place in the context of continued English raids against the Britanny and Normandy coasts following the great campaigns of 1544–1545. After the French defeat of the English fleet off ***Blancs-Sablons in 1513*** and again at the ***Battle of the Solent*** (**Isle of Wight**) in 1545, the French strengthened their defenses around **Brest**, whose harbor was one of the best on the Atlantic coast. Nonetheless, English commanders continued launching opportunistic attacks on French shipping and coastal positions.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: In the spring/summer of **1546**, a small English squadron attempted **a** combined coastal raid and naval demonstration **off** Brest**.** Their objective was to damage French shipping concentrated in the roadstead, test the costal defenses, and support ongoing English pressure during peace negotiations. Cunning saved Brest. The false wooden cannons produced the desired effect[90].

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but an alliance between Maximilian I, Spain, and the pope drove him out of Italy. In 1499 Louis XII invaded Italy and took Milan, Genoa, and Naples, but he was driven out of Naples in 1503 by Spain under Ferdinand V. Pope Julius II organized the League of Cambrai (1508) to attack Venice, then organized the Holy League (1511) to drive Louis out of Milan. In 1515 Francis I was victorious at the Battle of Marignano, and in 1516 a peace was concluded by which France held onto Milan and Spain kept Naples. Fighting began in 1521 between Emperor Charles V and Francis I. Francis was captured and forced to sign the Treaty of Madrid (1526), by which he renounced all claims in Italy, but, once freed, he repudiated the treaty and formed a new alliance with Henry VIII of England, Pope Clement VII, Venice, and Florence. Charles sacked Rome in 1527 and forced the pope to come to terms, and Francis gave up all claims to Italy in the Treaty of Cambrai (1529). By the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), the wars finally ended.

[90] One cannot help but think of the Second World War, when the British [who, deprived of all field artillery that they had abandoned in the panic of the retreat on the beaches of Dunkirk before re-embarking] used this idea of a decoy thinking to dissuade the Germans from invading their country: they made a few tanks and coastal defense installations out

Summary of the Action: The English learned of the deplorable state of the defenses of Brest. Soon a fleet of 60 English ships came to attack this stronghold. The English approached the **Goulet**—the narrow channel leading into the harbor. French shore batteries on **Pointe des Espagnols** and the **Tour d'Aval** opened fire, supported by several French royal ships inside the roadstead. The engagement was **brief**: the English fought an artillery duel offshore but found the harbor too well defended to risk a landing or a close assault. The people of Brest gathered at the tocsin and some available artillery pieces were dragged on the ramparts. All the empty em-

brasures were filled with decoy cannons. The English felt the defenses and fell into the trap. they did not insist too much, not realizing that a more serious attack would easily have carried the city. After exchanging fire and suffering moderate damage, the English withdrew. The French claimed a defensive victory.

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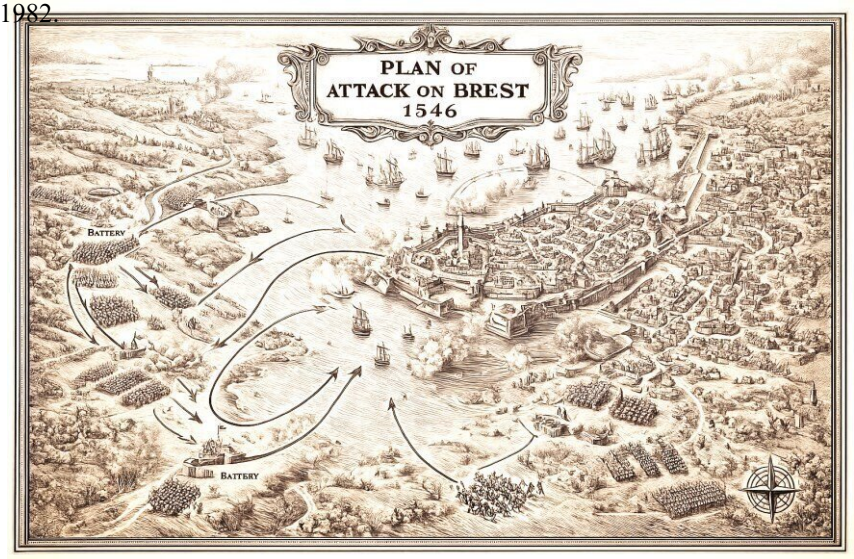
of inflatable rubber. But the ruse had only a beginning of execution. Only a few specimens were made, which had no impact on Hitler's decisions. On the other hand, Hollywood was able, subsequently, to inflate the relative importance of this historical detail.

Aftermath and Significance of this English failure. It was one of the last Anglo-French actions before the **Peace of Ardres** (June 1546) that temporarily ended hostilities. Peace was signed between France and England on June 17, 1546. While small in scale, the 1546 attack illustrates: the increasing importance of **coastal artillery,** the **strategic value of Brest** in the Franco-English naval struggle, the **transition to fortified Atlantic ports** that would culminate, a century later, in Vauban's great works

Source & Readings ♦ **Guérout, Max.** *Le dernier combat de la Cordelière.* Serpent de Mer, 2002. ♦**Toudouze, Georges G**. *Hervé de Portzmoguer et "Marie la Cordelière", d'après les témoins oculaires de 1512.* In *Fantômes des Combats*. ♦**Ridgway, Claire.** "The Battle of Saint-Mathieu – 10 August 1512." *The Tudor Society* (online article). ♦**Rodger, N. A. M**. *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649.* (London, 1997). ♦Various authors in *"A Day in History: 10th August 1512"*, Early Modern Forum, University of Warwick. ♦Le combat de la Cordelière 10 août 1512, bibliographie de JP Clochon" on the blog *Recherches-Historiques Le Conquet*. ♦**Leguay, Jean-Pierre & Martin, Hervé.** *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale.* Ouest-France Université, 1982.



Raid on Brighton.

Other name: Formerly Brightelmstone; Bright-Helmstone in Hall's Chronicle.

Date of the Engagement: mid-July 1545. (Modern scholarship usually re-dates the famous "Brighton map" to the raid of **1514**, even though antiquarians long labelled it 1545.)

Location: Port of England on the English Channel. Geographical coordinates: 50° 50' north latitude, and 00° 08' quest longitude.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was temporarily at a standstill. French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was King of England and François I (de Valois) King of France. In 1542, Mary Stuart had become Queen of Scots through the death of her father, James V. But her mother, Mary de Guise, was Regent of Scotland until 1560. As the French were the allies of the Scots, convoys between France and Scotland were attacked by English squadrons. A French division of four galleys, supported by large ships, landed some troops at Brighton in July 1545 to burn the city. But on all sides the alarm signals illuminated the English coast from Lewes to Hove. From these two towns local militia came in close columns. On the beach of Brighton, there was an old Greek

fire baliste [feu gregeois][91] of questionable efficiency. This war machine can be seen on the engraving. Before the arrival of English help, the French had time to loot and burn the city.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Surprise was the determining factor in the success of the Franco-Scots, who landed, burned the town, and re-embarked before the arrival of the numerous and, it seems, determined local militias.

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[91] Under the name **"Greek fire"** the term did not denote a single preparation but a whole range of inflammable mixtures, essentially composed of sulfur and fatty or resinous substances such as oil, naphtha, tar, pitch, etc., the proportions of which varied greatly. These preparations had been in use from time immemorial among the peoples of the Far East, whence they were introduced into Constantinople toward the end of the fifth century; but because the Greeks were the first in Europe to adopt them, the nations of the West gave them the common name Greek fire. According to the Byzantine historians, when the Caliph Muʿāwiyah was preparing to besiege Constantinople (674), a Syrian engineer named Callinicus offered his services to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus and acquainted him with the properties and use of these incendiary compositions, of which he claimed to be the inventor. Thanks to this unexpected help, the Muslims were repulsed. These preparations were mainly used in sieges and naval combats. Most often the composition was launched, after being ignited, by means of pumps of different diameters or by throwing weapons, enclosed in earthen pots or in glass vials that shattered on impact. Frequently, fireships were filled with them to set enemy vessels ablaze. The mixture was also applied to bundles of tow fixed to the ends of spears, which soldiers thrust toward the enemy in the manner of American Indian torches. It was at the siege of Damietta in 1218 that Latin historians first mention Greek fire, and it is easy to imagine the surprise and terror Westerners must have felt when attacked in such an unforeseen way. Although it could wreak great havoc when used to set fire to ships or wooden fortifications, its primary effect was moral: it spread fear among the enemy. The incendiary compositions known as Greek fire entered Europe through the Greek Empire, and Westerners did not succeed in preparing them themselves until after the Crusades, in the second half of the thirteenth century. In France, England, and elsewhere, Greek fire continued to be used in siege warfare throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The invention of artillery ultimately led to its disappearance. *(Source: Quillet encyclopedia*.) Today, flamethrowers, napalm and phosphorus incendiary bombs might be classified in the same category.

Summary of the Action: About this time[92], the prior Jean, a great captain of the French Navy with his galleys loaded with balistes and other large artillery, landed by night in Brighton. Before the alarm could be given, the French set fire to the town and seized everything they found. The alarm was finally sounded, and the people began to gather. The prior Jean blew his trumpet to call his men back as the day broke. English archers managed to approach and fired their arrows very quickly at the French sailors in the galleys. Other Englishmen followed the invaders to the sea at a good distance, but they were driven back with pikes. Several French pikemen were wounded. The prior Jean was himself hit in the face by an arrow. He suffered greatly. Later, he offered to Our Lady of Boleyn (Boulogne) his wax mask with the English arrow. The prior lost an eye.

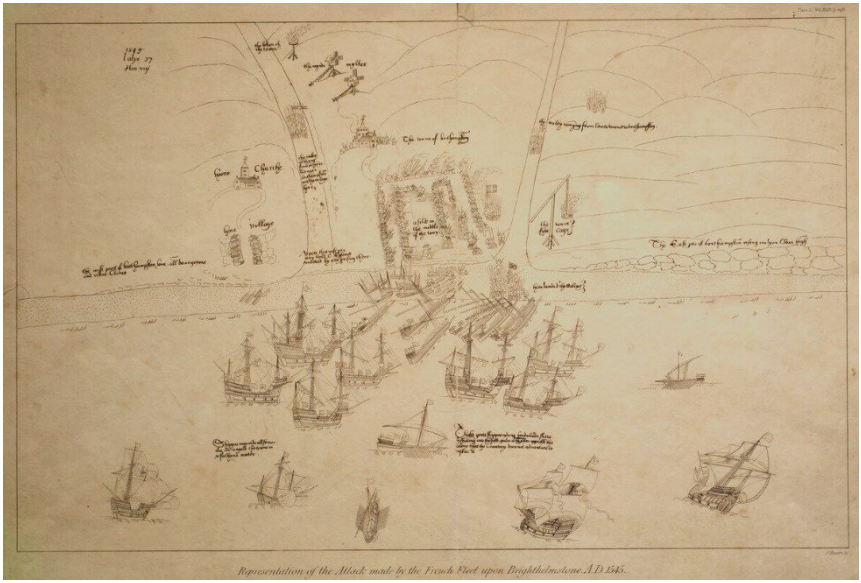
Casualties & Losses ♦A few hundred men in all.

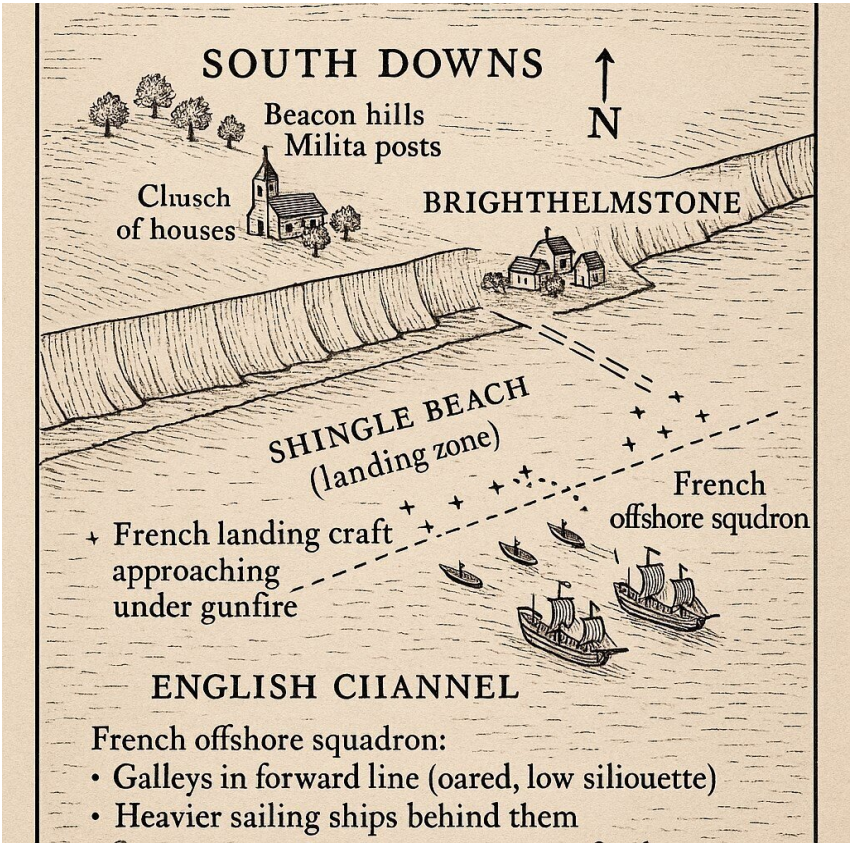
Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat, Brighton was destroyed, except for the church on the hill. The old priory of Saint-Barthélemy disappeared almost entirely. Thus, the only feature that survived from medieval Brighton was the layout of its streets in a chessboard pattern.

Source & Readings ♦**Henry Ellis**, *An Account of Two Ancient Drawings Preserved in the British Museum: One Representing the Attack of the French upon the Town of Brighthelmstone in 1545…* ♦**L. G. Carr Laughton**, *The Burning of Brighton by the French.* Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, vol. 10 (1916), pp. 167–73. ♦**[Anonymous]**, *Prégent de Bidoux's Raid in Sussex in 1514 and the Cotton MS Augustus I.i.18*. ♦**J. A. Erredge**, *The History of Brighthelmston, or Brighton, and its Environs* (19th c.). ♦**The Attack Made**

[92] Hall's Chronicles.

by the French Fleet upon Brighthelmstone A.D. 1545" in *History of Brighton and Environs*. (sussexhistory.co.uk). ♦**Ronald H. Fritze**, *The Forgotten D-Day of 1545* (Corndancer, 2008). ♦**Mary Rose Trust**, "*How the English Militia Faced the French Raids during the Battle of the Solent*" (Mary Rose Museum blog). ♦**Cotton MS Augustus I.i.18 –** "Representation of the Attack Made by the French Fleet upon Brighthelmstone A.D. 1545" British Library).





Simple schematic map Priv.Coll.

Naval Combat off Bristol

Date of the Engagement: 1484.

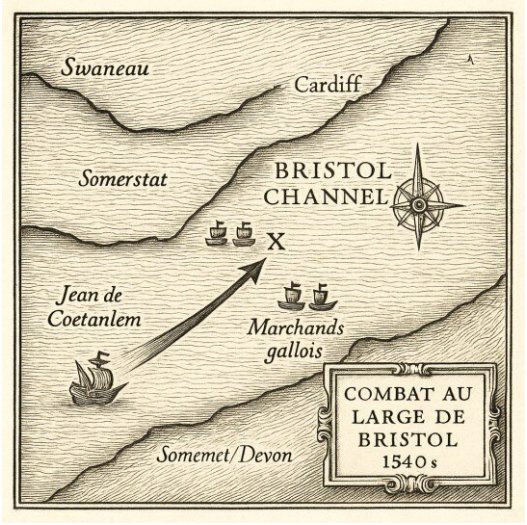
Location: City located in England in the Severn Mouth. The battle took place in the Bristol Channel. Approximate coordinates of the battle: 51°30'N; 02° 50' West.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England, 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Richard III of York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VIII (de Valois) King of France. The Wars of the Roses (1455–1487) were a series of civil wars in England between two rival branches of the royal Plantagenet family: The House of Lancaster, whose symbol was the red rose; the House of York, whose symbol was the white rose. During this war, the Yorks and the Lancastrians ruled England in turn, according to the fortune of arms. 1484 was in the Third Period (1483–1487) of this war: After Edward IV's death, his brother Richard III usurped the throne, allegedly killing Edward's young sons ("the Princes in the Tower"). Discontent grew; Henry Tudor, a distant Lancastrian, defeated Richard III at the *Battle of Bosworth* **(**1485**)**. The King of France supported the party of Lancaster [Tudor]. Taking advantage of the war, a few privateers took part in the race. Finaly**,** Henry VII (Tudor) became king and married Elizabeth of York, uniting the two houses. This founded the Tudor dynasty and ended the feudal conflicts that had torn England apart for thirty years. Symbolically, the Tudor emblem became the *red-and-white rose*, representing reconciliation. Unfortunately, thousands of English people had

died because of these family rivalries, but everything ended well with a marriage that they should have thought of earlier.

Opposing Commanders ♦Jean de Coëtanlem, French privateer.



Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Assaults by boarding. The 1484 action off Bristol (the so-called *"sack of Bristol"*), which modern historians see as a naval/privateering combat rather than a full sack of the town.

Summary of the Action: A French privateer, Jean de Coëtanlem, had sold his possessions to go on a cruise to seize booty. On board his ships named "La CUILLER" and "Le SINGE", he scoured the sea in search of the English. The people of Bristol, England, armed three large ships well equipped with artillery, doubled the crews, and had a series of masses and prayers so that Almighty God might help them to find Jean de Coëtanlem. God heard them the next day. The CUILLER, Le SINGE, and a third French vessel were joined in the vicinity of Bristol, a league and a half from the coast of Great Britain. These were the TRINITY, the MARY GRACE[93], and a third ship. A fierce fight ensued that lasted five or six hours. Finally, the English asked for a two-hour respite. When the truce was over, Coëtanlem

[93] The TRINITY was 500 tons and the MARY GRACE 300.

boarded the MARY GRACE and captured it, then captured the whole squadron.

Casualties & Losses ♦*French*: unknown. ♦*English*: all three ships.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat: On his return to Plomb[94], near La Rochelle, Coëtanlem saw the greater part of his booty and prizes seized by the French Administration. Discouraged, he put himself at the service of Portugal[95]. C.S.L. Davies argues that Breton privateer *Jean de Coëtanlem* captured several Welsh ships off Bristol and that later Breton tradition exaggerated this into a "sack" of the city. *The "sack of Bristol" refers in reality to a naval combat in which Jean de Coëtanlem captured three Welsh ships off Bristol*. (Dipouest)

Source & Readings ♦***C. S. L. Davies***, "*The Alleged 'Sack of Bristol': International Ramifications of Breton Privateering, 1484–5*," *Historical Research*, 67 (1994), pp. 230–239. ♦***Anne F. Sutton***, *England and Brittany 1482–86:* Politics, Trade, and War*,* Nottingham Medieval Studies*,* 62 (2018), pp. 137–182. ♦***Maryanne Kowaleski,*** *Bibliography of the Medieval Maritime History of the British Isles and Ireland*, International Journal of Maritime History *26* (2014). ♦**J. W. Damer Powell,** *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* (Bristol Record Society, orig. 1930s; digitized on Internet Archive.org). ♦**International ramifications of Breton privateering (1484–1485)**, short entry in a Brittany digital archive (Dipouest). Summarises Davies's conclusions in French and explicitly notes that.

[94] In the past, the port of Plomb, at the point where the small coastal river the Go meets the ocean, was used for the shipment of grain and wine. Then it became a fishing port, then today an oyster port

[95] Nearly two centuries later, the French administration also discouraged Radisson and Des Groseillers from exploiting the furs of Hudson's Bay, among many others, to such an extent that Radisson put himself at the service of England and founded the Hudson's Bay Company, which precipitated the loss of a vast territory by New France. The petty Parisian civil servants with discretionary powers have always been the balls and bolts of the French economy.

Siege of Broughty Craig.

Date of the Engagement: July 1548 - 20 February 1550.

Location: Today in the greater Dundee area, Scotland. In the 15th century, Dundee was 3 km from Broughty. Geographical coordinates: 56°28'N, 03°00'W. A Craig is a large rock.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation.

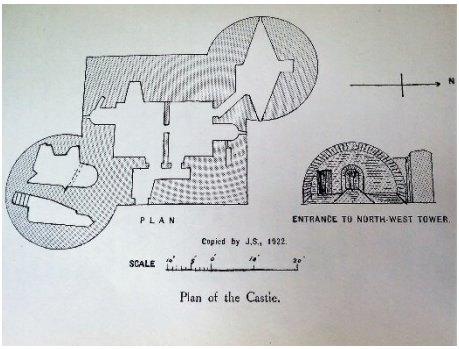
Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. On 1st September 1547, the English defeated the Lowland Scots at the Battle of Pinkie, in front of Edinburgh. The *Protector of England*,[96] Seymour of Somerset, would have liked to marry the young King of England Edward VI[97] to Mary Stuart. But, for politico-religious reasons, the Regent of Scotland, the Frenchwoman Marie de Guise, prevented the project. She appealed to France, which sent a new Expeditionary Force in December 1547 and reinforcements in June 1548.

Opposing Commanders: The French Expeditionary Corps of December 1547 was commanded by Lieutenant-General Montalembert d'Esse; the reinforcements of June 1548 by Vice-Admiral de

[96] The Protector of England — more fully called *Lord Protector* — was a title used in English history to designate a person who exercised sovereign power or regency when the monarch was absent, too young, or the monarchy was suspended.
[97] Then 10 years old; Marie was 6 years old!

La Milleraye. In June 1549, Paul de Thermes took command of the French and d'Esse returned to France.

Plan of the Castle. *(Priv,Coll.)*



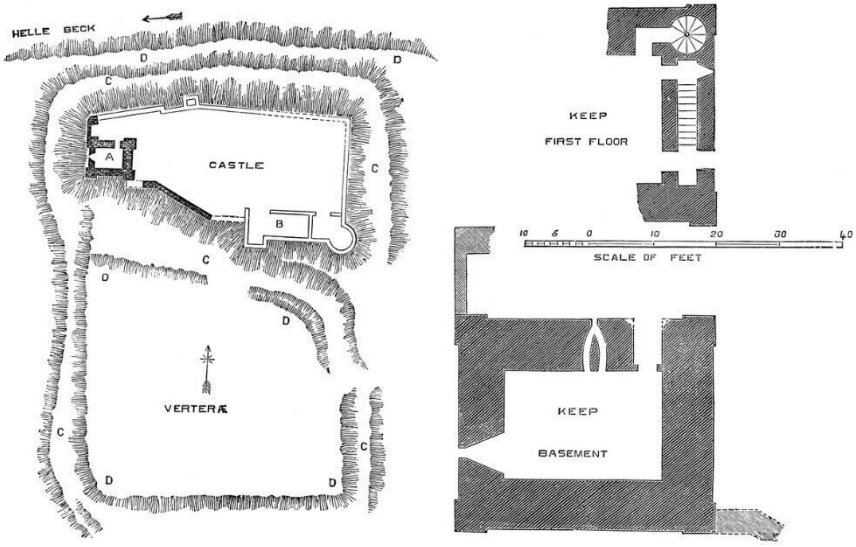
Plan of the Castle.

Opposing Troops engaged: The French Expeditionary Corps of December 1547 consisted of 5 transports and 4 escort galleys. Reinforcements in June 1548 totaled 140 sails: 18 galleys, 26 other warships, and 96 transports, with 5,440 soldiers.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The French began by seizing the citadel that commanded the sector; then, having taken this key point, they attacked the city proper; This process is the opposite of the usual tactics.

Summary of the Action: After failing before Edinburgh Castle, Protector Somerset sent Admirals Dudley and Clinton to the Tay River to besiege the Broughty Craig's castle. The latter arrived in front of Broughty at 16h00 on Tuesday, September 20th. They sent the usual summons to the castle, and its small Scottish garrison immediately capitulated without a fight. Its commander was Henry Durham. The British occupied the castle on the 21st, and 4 days later Admiral Clinton left, leaving behind some ships. The new

garrison of the castle, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley[98] consisted of English, Italian, German, Spanish and later Albanian troops, and a few... Scottish mercenaries "always ready to mutiny" (according to English historians)[99]. From their two fortresses of Broughty-Craig and Balgillo, which served as bases of departure



Plan of the Castle. *Priv.Coll.*

for their raids, and as refuges after raids, the English were able to dominate and devastate the countryside and the region; they burned Forfar. In April 1548, Bishop John Hamilton of Dunkeld attempted to seize Broughty Craig by surprise with a small force of French and Scots, but the secret was revealed, and failure ensued. The latter returned to Dundee. At the beginning of November 1548, the English took Dundee unexpectedly; d'Esse then dispatched three

[98] Admiral's relative.

[99] For, despite the conversion of Scottish mercenaries to Protestantism, Dudley had a strong dislike for them.

companies of French and German soldiers commanded by Monsieur d'Estanges. The vanguard reached Dundee 8 days after the English had taken control of it. On the approach of the French, the English abandoned the town, after having set fire to it and sacked it, and took refuge in their two forts at Broughty-Craig. Dundee then received a French garrison of seven companies reinforced by three companies of Scots. After taking Haddington, the French commander-in-chief, Monsieur de Thermes, accompanied by the Regent, turned his attention to Broughty-Craig, which he was also besieging. French reinforcements arrived at Dundee at the beginning of February 1550. They made some preparations to take the castle, first marched on Fort Balgillo[100] and bypassed it by the north to take up a position in the sector of the present Château Roy; as when they had attacked the fort. Thus, stationed on an elevated position from which they dominated and commanded the road, the French cut off all means of logistical communication between the fort and the castle. After the annihilation of the fort, the castle was stormed on 20 February by Paul de Thermes. *The battle lasted a full day.* On 21 February, the English garrison capitulated. Most of the defenders had been killed or taken prisoner during this terrible fight.

Casualties & Losses ♦Heavy on both sides. Unknown figures.

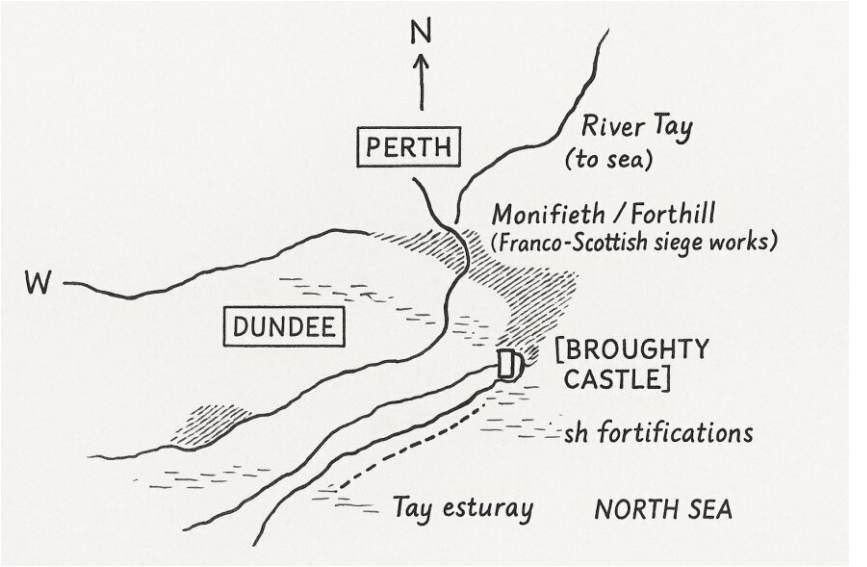
Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat: After taking Broughty-Craig, the French marched on Lauder and certain other border places between England and Scotland. Peace between Scotland and England was signed in April 1550. Dundee remained

[100] Today a hotel: *The Fort Hotel.*

occupied by the French for 5 or 6 years, at the request of the Scottish Lowlanders, to ensure that the English would not violate the terms of the treaty.

Castle of Broughty. Priv.Coll.

Source & Readings **♦Marcus Merriman,** *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000). **♦Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots,** vol. 1, 1547–1563 (Edinburgh, 1898). **♦John Roche Dasent,** *Acts of the Privy Council of England***, vol. 2, 1547–1550** (London: HMSO, 1890). **♦Historic Environment Scotland, "**The Story of Scotland's Longest Siege," *HES Blog* (1 July 2022). **♦Broughty Castle,"** Broughty Castle *entry (Historic Environment Scotland / Dundee Museums)***. ♦Alexander Maxwell,** *The History of Old Dundee, Narrated out of the Town Council Register* (Edinburgh, 1884). "Broughty Craig in the mouth of the Firth of Tay" and the effects of the English occupation and siege on Dundee. **♦Broughty Castle**," *Military Wiki* (fan compilation, but with references).

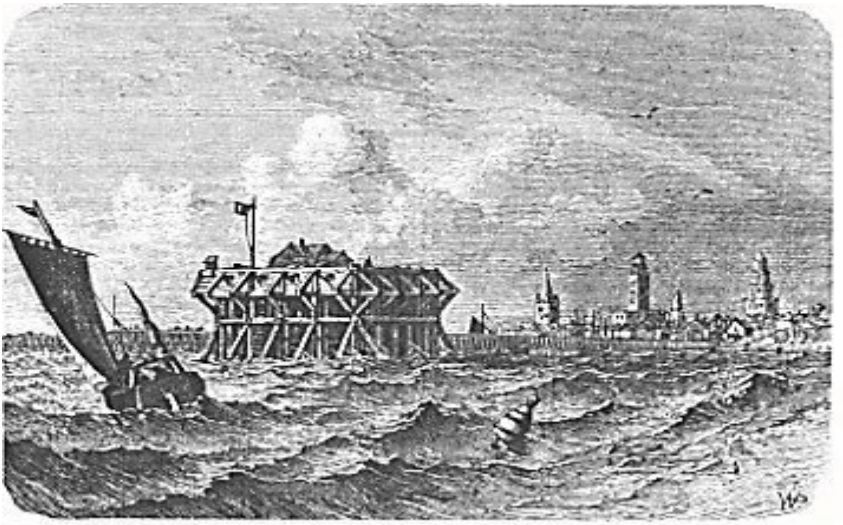

N
PERTH
River Tay
(to sea)
Monifieth / Forthill
(Franco-Scottish siege works)
W
DUNDEE
[BROUGHTY
CASTLE]
sh fortifications
Tay esturay
NORTH SEA

Siege of Calais.

Date of action: 1st - 8th January 1558.

Location: Port-fortress on the English Channel coast, lying at 50°57'N.; 01°50'E.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V had resumed in 1551. This Emperor had abdicated in 1556 in favor of his brother Ferdinand. England had then joined Spain in its war against France, because Mary Tudor, Catholic Queen of England, had married Philip II of Spain.



Calais vue de la mer, avec son ouvrage avancé *d'après* Grant J.G., British Battles on Land & Sea, Cassel Petter & Galpin, London, v.1

Historical Background: Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt was Queen of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. France had been invaded by an Anglo-Spanish army that had taken Saint-Quentin. In retaliation, the French attacked and took Calais.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English*: Lord Dunford. ♦*French*: the Duke de Guise.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The use of Calais as a bridgehead to seize Boulogne had convinced the French of the danger of leaving this city in the hands of the English. The French had therefore prepared the ground by seizing the Slack Lines (communication lines between Calais and Boulogne). Unintelligibly, the attack on Calais came as a surprise to the English. It was the Duke de Guise who decided to retake this city, which had been English for two centuries, in retaliation for the English participation (through Calais) in the Spanish and Imperial invasion of France. This conquest was also a diversion that made French public opinion forget the capture of Saint-Quentin. The Slack Line, a fortified line linking Boulogne to Calais, was taken by the French between 22 and 26 August 1549[101]. Boulogne-sur-Mer, the second strongpoint, was retaken by the French in 1550. The English High Command should certainly not have been surprised by this aggression

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[101] See Fort Slack. This fort was built by England from 1544 to 1545. **Purpose:** To secure the harbour entrance and protect the English bridgehead on the north bank. **Features:** A **major artillery work**: angular bastions, earth + timber, later reinforced in stone. This fort commanded traffic entering the Boulogne Roads. It served as a forward base for sorties and naval supply. It was captured by assault; **s**tormed by the French on **6 October 1549** under Paul de Thermes. This major blow, reduced England's hold on the Boulogne perimeter.

on Calais after all these preparatory stages. On the maritime side, about twenty transports ensured the supply of the French siege army, while the French squadron of Ponsard de Fors blockaded Calais.

Summary of the Action: On Saturday, January 1st, 1558, the Duke de Guise appeared before Calais at the head of a large army. He began by seizing, as soon as he arrived, Fort-Nieulay and Fort-Sangatte. The next day, Sunday, the artillery of Fort-Nieulay — now French— shelled Calais as an *artillery preparation* and the Infantry assault began. The English defended themselves foot by foot, and, with the help of the cannons, they succeeded in driving the French back into Fort Nieulay. The Duke de Guise then decided to attack Fort-Risban. The next morning, January 3rd, the siege batteries established opposite the port began to bombard the fort, which was soon taken. After this, French troops stormed the positions that commanded the entrance to the fort and the access to the city. On Tuesday, the *Porte-du-Havre* and the towers that flanked it were breached and neutralized by four batteries of artillery who concentrated on them. But the breach was not sufficient to launch an assault, so the Duke de Guise preferred to wait until the next day. He erected a huge battery of 33 guns in front of the castle. Very quickly, a breach opened that allowed the castle to be seen in the open. On the evening of this attack, Andelot[102] with his 1,500 arquebusiers seized the quay. On the 6th, the artillery resumed shelling, and in the evening, around 9:00 p.m., all the troops were

[102] François de Coligny d'Andelot was a French noble-military leader who took part in the campaign that resulted in the French recapture of Calais in 1558. He distinguished himself in the siege (or the campaign around it) and was later notable for his role as a Protestant leader in France.

drawn up in battle. After a violent and stubborn hand-to-hand fight, the French army forced the English to abandon the castle and take refuge in the fortified city. It was then that Mylord Dunford decided to re-take over the castle. Dunford commanded a large garrison and a strong and well-armed Calais militia[103]. But the Dukes of Aumale and Elbeuf, brothers of the Duke de Guise, had shut themselves up in the castle. Thus, after a failed attempt, the English abandoned the project[104]. They decided to defend themselves only in the fortified city[105]. The next day, the Duke de Guise launched a violent assault on the fortified city, which in turn had to capitulate. Dunford tried to obtain advantageous terms, but de Guise refused them and imposed his own: ♦English women and girls would be protected from the soldiers. ♦The English population could leave wherever it pleased, except fifty persons of the Duke of Guise's choice. ♦The English garrison would withdraw to England, abandoning flags and weapons, artillery, and without destroying anything "not even by pulling out a nail". ♦All the movable and immovable property of the English would be confiscated by France.

The capitulation was accepted by the English and carried out[106]. On January 8, finally, Vice Admirals Ralph Chamberlain and William Woodhouse arrived with an English relief fleet. Too late! The French siege batteries began to fire again towards the fortifications *to set a mousetrap for the English ships*. Two English ships sent out to reconnoitre saw two ships with a white cross flag

[103] English milice, then, since the French population had been driven out of the city two centuries earlier and replaced by an English population.
[104] To retake the castle.
[105] It was obvious that defeatism was beginning to affect the determination of the English troops and their leader.
[106] On January 7, French Forces occupied the city.

guarding the harbor pass, while the white English flag with the red cross of St. George had disappeared. They sniffed out the trap. And rightly so, for if Chamberlain's 18 warships had entered the port, all arrangements were made to strike them at point-blank range. Above the door of the castle, a stone engraved by the English bore the inscription in French: "The French in Calais will come to establish the siege, when iron and lead will float like cork". The prediction had not come true.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat. England thus lost, almost through carelessness, "the most beautiful jewel in the crown of England[107]", in any case an irreplaceable bridgehead on the continent. This loss, a real national disaster, caused a considerable stir in England. English for two centuries, the fortress received a strong French garrison of 4,000 men in anticipation of English attempts to retake it. Unfortunately, the English fleet (that had managed to escape capture in the trap of Calais) was just destroyed by a hurricane. Mary, the English queen was so traumatized that she confided shortly before her death: "If someone opened my heart, they would find the name of Calais!" She called on the Spanish fleet to transport an English Expeditionary Force of 5,000 men led by the Earl of Rutland, but the Spanish fleet was itself dispersed by another hurricane. Heaven itself seemed to be on the French side and to oppose the recovery of this city by the English. *Alea Jacta Est*; the die was cast forever. Nearly half a millennium

[107] According to a lament by Queen Mary Tudor.

after[108] — a sign of the times! — Calais will once again come to reach out to England through the Channel Tunnel.

Source & Readings ♦**Grummitt, David.** *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436–1558.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008. ♦**Rose, Susan.** *Calais: An English Town in France, 1347–1558.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008. ♦**Potter, David.** *The duc de Guise and the Fall of Calais, 1557–1558.* English Historical *Review* 98 (1983): 481–513**.** ♦**Grummitt, David.** *The Fall of Calais in 1558. in* The Calais Garrison. ♦**Cavendish, Richard,** *The Fall of Calais.* History Today 58:1 (January 2008). ♦**Spencer, Dan.** *A Precious Jewel: English Calais, 1347–1558.* Historical Association (online article), 2017. ♦*Chapter Three Narratives of the Fall of Calais in 1558: Explaining Defeat in Tudor England," in* Representing War and Violence, 1250–1600 *(Cambridge).* ♦Siege of Calais (1558) in standard encyclopedic works (e.g. Wikipedia entry, Military Wiki, etc.). ♦**Claudio Duchetti**, *View of the siege of Calais, 1558* (etching, c.1568–85).

Calais. Priv.Coll.

[108] In reality, 437 years later !

Naval combat of the Chef-de-Caux

Date of the Engagement: 3 July 1545.

Location: In the Middle Ages, place located at the mouth of the Seine, Normandy, France. Approximate coordinates: 49°41' North latitude, and 00°10' East longitude.

Conflict: Hostilities between France and the Empire of Charles V temporarily stalled. French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: François I (de Valois) was the King of France. On 29 May 1522, Henry VIII, King of England had declared war on France because, on the one hand, he wanted to reconquer Normandy and Guyenne, and, on the other hand, he wished to punish Francis I of France who was helping Scotland in its war of independence from England. *The Treaty of Rouen* of 26 August 1517, between France and Scotland, obliged France to provide 2,200 soldiers to that country. In 1542, Mary Stuart had become Queen of Scots by the death of her father, James V. Convoys between France and Scotland were therefore the object of interception attempts by English squadrons. In July 1545, the French Lieutenant-General Montgomery de Lorges left Brest for Scotland with an Expeditionary Force of 3,000 men and 500 horses. He rounded the English cape Land's End[109] to go and land at Dumbarton

[109] English Finistere; Exact Translation

[Scotland] on July 3rd, 1545. At the end of the new *Franco-Scottish Agreement* of 15 December 1543, the Scots resumed hostilities with an army of 28,000 men.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: 64 ships. ♦*French*: 3,000 men and 500 horses.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Mass assault on the English line by the Franco-Genoese galleys, which were more maneuverable thanks to their oars.

Summary of the Action: At Chef-de-Caux, on July 3rd, 1545, 64 English ships were attacked by the galleys and Franco-Genoese ships [Pierre Strozzi[110]] which assaulted them two or three times. Then a storm arose, and the English put to high sea, pursued by two galleys which thus kept in touch with the English.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat: Chef-de-Caux was unblocked.

Source & Readings ♦La Roncière, Charles de. *Histoire de la marine française depuis la renaissance des temps modernes jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. I: La marine de la Renaissance. Paris: Hachette, 1889. ♦Rodger, N. A. M. *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660–1649*. London: Penguin, 1997. ♦1545 in *Un peu d'Histoire*. Accessed online. "la flotte française défait l'Angleterre à Chef-de-Caux à l'embouchure de la Seine" (3 July 1545).

[110] Pierre Strozzi, Marshal of France, served Francis I. He was killed at the siege of Thionville. The Strozzis were members of a wealthy Florentine banking family that provided poets, statesmen, and warmen.

♦Historic-UK.com – "The Great French Armada of 1545 & The Battle of the Solent". (Provides narrative of the broader 1545 French naval offensive, of which the Chef-de-Caux action is a component.)

Attack on Cherbourg.

Date of the Action: June 1522.

Location: Northern tip of the Cotentin Peninsula, France. Geographical coordinates: 49° 39' North latitude, and 01° 39' West longitude.

Conflict: War between France and the House of Austria and the Empire. Second phase of the War of the Holy League.

Historical Background: Henri VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I (de Valois) King of France. Francis I was at war with Emperor Charles V: Italian Wars. Renewal of the War of the Holy League: After the failure of the Calais Conference, Pope Leo X, Henry VIII of England and Emperor Charles V signed a *secret treaty*[111] of coalition against France. On May 29, 1522, Henry VIII of England declared war on France. In 1517, the war port of Havre-de-Grâce[112] had just been built to house the war fleet.

Opposing Commanders ♦The *Anglo-Spanish* fleet was commanded by Admiral Thomas Howard.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦Anglo-Spanish fleet: 200 sail and galleys.

[111] November 24, 1521. Nevertheless, some historians do not consider this coalition as part of the Holy Catholic League.
[112] Then called *Franciscopolis* [city of Francis I]

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: According to the secret treaty of 1521, the coalized undertook to attack France on March 1523 simultaneously through the Pyrenees, the Alps and Picardy.

Cherbourg in 1522. Priv.Coll.

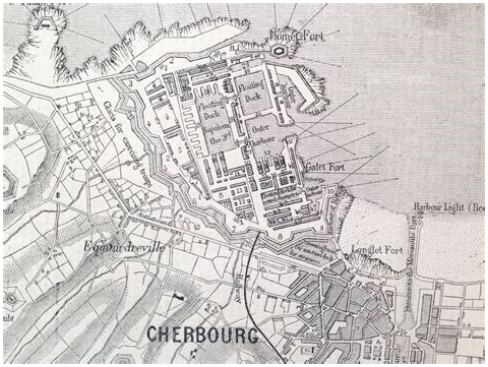
Summary of the Action: As soon as war was declared, an immense Anglo-Spanish war fleet[113] left Les Dunes and came to the aid of

[113] Of 200 sail and galleys.

Guernsey which was threatened by a modest French naval division[114]. Frustrated by a victory, the English admiral landed his army in front of Urville-Hague and attacked Cherbourg. But the attack failed completely.

Aftermath and Significance of this English failure: As a result, Morlaix, less protected, suffered the consequences of the failure of the English squadron which did not want to leave empty-handed.

Source & Readings ♦Helps, Ian G. *The career of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (c.1490–1542): a thematic study.* University of Southampton, 2006. (Doctoral thesis). ♦Sir William Fitz-William, Earl of Southampton." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. ♦A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors." (Archive edition) — includes reference to English naval expeditions in mid-1522. ♦Le Goff, H. "Saint-Malo et les guerres maritimes du Ponant durant l'âge moderne." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 2018. ♦"Cherbourg-Octeville" article on French Wikipedia — notes that in 1522 the town of Cherbourg was defended against an incursion by the English. ♦"The Royal Navy, a History from the Earliest Times to the Present (Vol. 1, Chapter 14)."



[114] Vice-Admiral Lartigue.

Naval Battle of Cherbourg.

Date of the Engagement: 22 July 1543.

Location: Cotentin Peninsula, France. Geographical coordinates: 49° 39'N, and 01° 39'W.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire[115]. Scottish War of Independence; French participation.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Franciis I (François de Valois) King of France. Convoys between France and Scotland were under attack by English squadrons. An English squadron was ordered to attack Cherbourg and raze the city to the ground, in retaliation for the English defeat at Oxfordness on 6 July 1543.

Opposing Troops engaged: ♦Unknown number of recruits.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The fight took place exclusively with cannon, with the ships serving as floating batteries.

Summary of the Action: When the English squadron appeared, two French warships, which were there, attacked the much larger English squadron. The English held firm, but one of the French captains was killed and his ship then began to show signs of hesitation. At that time, two ships from Barfleur, one commanded by the Sieur

[115] Charles V's Empire

du Tourp[116] and the other by gentlemen of the Val de Saire, rushed to the aid. With cannon fire, the Barfleurais sank the GRAND-MARTIN from London. At that point, the other ships of the English squadron left, leaving 80 prisoners in the hands of the French, including a Lord and the expedition's pilot, a Frenchman who was immediately put to death for high treason.

Casualties & Losses: The British lost one ship and its 80 surviving crew.

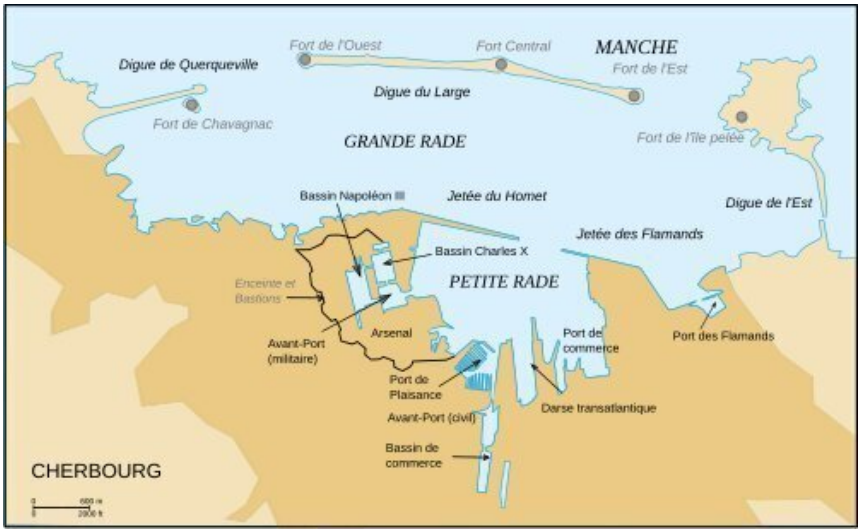
Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat: The attack on Cherbourg had been aborted.

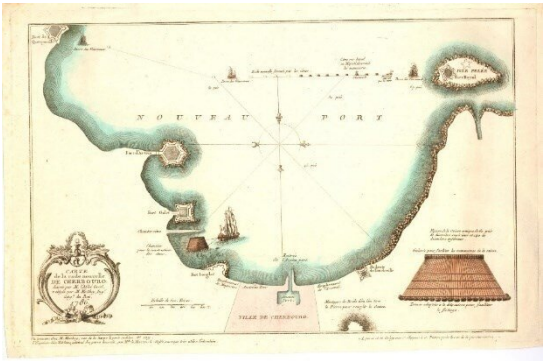
Source & Readings ♦Mémoire sur ce qu'il est nécessaire pour la défense de Cherbourg, 26 July 1543, in *England and the Wars in Flanders 1542-1543*. Leiden: Brill, "Nos 173, 174; Francis I to Heilly & Vervins, 22 July 1543, BMA. ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign & Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, (English naval reports and correspondence on the Channel operations). ♦*Correspondance de Matignon* (French archives), especially the section on the Channel naval campaign, July-August 1543. ♦Potter, David. *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540-1547*. Leiden: Brill, 2011. (chapter on the Anglo-French naval campaign in the Channel in 1543). ♦Knighton, C. S. & Loades, D., *The Navy of Henry VIII*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. ♦Rodger, N. A. M. *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660-1649*. London: Penguin/Allen Lane, 1997. ♦The Admirals' War: The naval campaign in the Channel, 1543-1545," in *England and the Wars in Flanders 1542-1543*.

[116] François II de La Cour, Sieur du Tourp. The Manor du Tourp is located at Omonville-la-Rogue, the Cotentin region.

Leiden: Brill. (Detailed section on Cherbourg operation). ♦Fissel, Mark. *War and Government in Britain, 1598-1650*. London: Routledge, 1994. ♦Murphy, Neil. *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: English Gambit or French Revenge?* Stroud: Sutton, 2000.

Map of Cherbourg Roadstead. Priv.Coll.





Views of Cherbourg. Priv.Coll.

Raid against Cherbourg.

Date of the Engagement: 15 June 1557.

Location: Cotentin Peninsula, France. Geographical coordinates: 54° 17' north latitude, and 00° 24' west longitude.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V had resumed in 1551. Charles V had just abdicated in 1556 in favor of his brother Ferdinand. England had allied itself with Spain in the war against France.

Historical Background: Marie I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. By his marriage [in 1554] to Queen Mary Tudor I of England [117], Philip II, King of Spain, the Two Sicilies, the Indies (America), and the Netherlands, was able to concentrate a formidable armada. France was in danger. The Truce of Vaucelles was broken by Henry 11 of France who resumed the war against Philip II, son and successor of Charles V in Spain.

[117] Mary I [1516-1558] was another daughter of Henry VIII of England, but a Catholic, this time, and an opponent of the Reformation. She reigned from 1553 to 1558. Protestants nicknamed her Bloody Mary, a play on words that means both Bloody Mary and Cursed Mary. She married Philip II of Spain and thus engaged with Austria and Spain in a war against France, which resulted in the loss of Calais to her country. Philip II was the son of Charles V and Isabella of Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal... A convinced Catholic, he governed Spain with brutality, expelled the Moriscos from Andalusia. It was his fleet, the invincible Armada, which was destroyed by the storms, a fleet whose crews included some Franc-Comtois, then subjects of the King of Spain.

Opposing Forces engaged: The British squadron numbered 16 warships.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: surprise.

Summary of the Action: On June 15, 1557, the English admiral appeared before Cherbourg with 16 large warships. A French ship of the line, surprised in the port, was attacked and smashed after a violent fight. The English squadron then attacked La Hague[118], the cape immediately west of Cherbourg, but the French coastal batteries forced the English squadron to retreat to the open sea. The raid was aborted.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English failure, the English squadron retreated towards England.

Source & Readings ♦**Gilles de Gouberville,** *Journal de Gilles de Gouberville, 1549-1562*, esp. vol. II (1553-1557). (describes the alarm raised when the *"Angloys vouloyent descendre près Cherebourg"* at Tourlaville and how the ships were driven off by shore artillery in June 1557.) ♦**Le *Journal du sire de Gouberville*,** éd. Eugène de Robillard de Beaurepaire, in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* (1892). ♦***Mémoires de la Société nationale académique de Cherbourg* (late 19th–20th c.),** various vols. (Gallica).♦**Joachim Darsel, "**XIV *Amirauté de Cherbourg*", Annales de Normandie, 36/4 (1986), pp. 289-314 **(**Persée). ♦**Virginia Reinburg, "**Gouberville, His Social Worlds, and His Journal," in ***Tracing Private Conversations in Early Modern Europe*** (Palgrave). ♦Chronologie" (Histoire, économie & société).

[118] Not to be confused with La Hougue, on the east coast of the Cotentin peninsula.

Cherbourg in the XV century. Priv.Coll.

Raid against Le Conquet.

Date de the Action : Early August 1462.

Location: City in Finistère, Brittany, located at 48° 22' North latitude and 04° 46' West longitude; France.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485. The War of the Public Weal was a failed revolt by a league of French feudal nobles against King Louis XI in 1465. Led by Charles the Bold, the nobles opposed Louis XI's centralizing policies, but they did not gain widespread support and ultimately lost after the conflict resumed as the *Mad War* in 1485.

Historical Background: Edward VI of York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) King of France. The unpopular Henry VI of Lancaster [red rose on arms] ruled England. Richard of York [white rose on arms] claimed the throne from his cousin Henry VI. The King of France supported the English Lancastrian [Tudor] party; the house of York received the help of the French Duke of Burgundy. The French and English launched deadly raids against coastal towns. The *War of the Public Weal* [la Guerre du Bien Public or League of the Public Weal] was an alliance of powerful French nobles, led by Charles the Bold [Charles le Téméraire], Duke of Burgundy, who sought to challenge the central authority of King Louis XI of France. This conflict, known as the War of the Public Weal, began in 1465 and involved several

significant battles, including the Battle of Montlhéry. The League aimed to restore the feudal privileges of the nobles and curb the King's power, while Louis XI sought to strengthen royal authority and centralize control over France. The conflict ultimately ended with the Treaty of Conflans, granting concessions to the nobles but strengthening the monarchy's position.

Opposing Commanders ♦The *English* fleet was commanded by the Admiral-Earl of Kent. ♦*French*: The garrison of the town of Le Conquet was under the orders of the seigneurs de Quimerch, Rosmadec, and Bertrand du Chaffault.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦The English fleet has been estimated at very different numbers according to historians: between 70 and 200 ships, carrying between 10,000 and 20,000 soldiers.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: unknown.

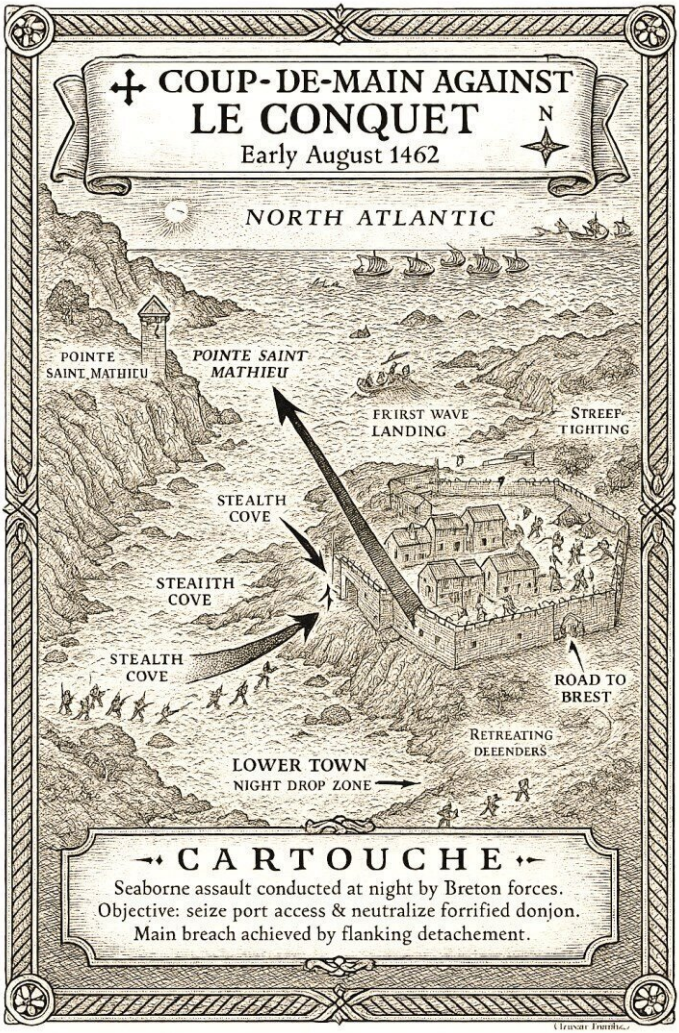
Summary of the Action: As soon as the arrival of this fleet was announced, the alarm was given all along the French coast. The English were repulsed at the cost of heavy casualties.

Casualties & Losses ♦Very heavy losses on both sides.

Aftermath and Significance of this English failure, the English re-embarked. The coastal towns were on their guard. The operation of the Breton–French reconquest of the Léon coast during the final phase of the War of the Public Weal / Anglo-Breton tensions.

Source & Readings **Succinct bibliography** for the **coup-de-main against Le Conquet (early August 1462)** — a small but well-documented. ♦**Pierre Le Baud.** *Histoire de Bretagne*. Ed. A. de La Borderie. Rennes, 1888. ♦**Alain Bouchart.** *Les Grandes Chroniques de Bretagne*. Ed. Y. Le Prat, Rennes, 2010.

(attacks against English-allied positions on the Léon coast, including Le Conquet. ♦**Jean de Wavrin.** *Recueil des Chroniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne*. Bruxelles, 1863–1891, vol. V. ♦**Archives Départementales du Finistère. Série B — États et comptes militaires (1462–63). (**Mentions troop payments and naval dispositions around Brest, Le Conquet, Saint-Matthieu.) ♦**Michel Nassiet.** *La Bretagne, un royaume en Europe (1450–1550)*. Rennes: PUR, 2014. ♦**Alan Ryder.** *The Warlords of Brittany: 1400–1475*. Oxford, 2009. ♦**Jean Kerhervé.** *L'État breton aux XIVe et XVe siècles*. 2 vols., Rennes, 1987. (Details ducal military administration and the decision-making behind the 1462 coup-de-main operations.) ♦**Patrick Galliou & Michael Jones.** *The Bretons*. Oxford, 1991. ♦**Jean-Christophe Fichou.** *Bretagne et mer au XVe siècle*. Brest, 2001. (eferences to the 1462 engagements around Brest and Le Conquet). ♦**René Quillivic.** Les opérations côtières en Léon au milieu du XVe siècle." *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 97 (1969): 121–145. (Short but precise; describes Le Conquet's role and the 1462 assault). ♦**Yves Coativy.** "Guerre et défense littorale en Basse-Bretagne au XVe siècle." *Revue d'Histoire Maritime* 9 (2008): 45–68. ♦**Philippe Jarnoux.** Brest et son littoral à la fin du Moyen Âge. *Annales de Bretagne* 102 (1995): 233–260.


COUP-DE-MAIN AGAINST
LE CONQUET
Early August 1462
N
NORTH ATLANTIC
POINTE SAINT MATHIEU
POINTE SAINT MATHIEU
FRIRST WAVE LANDING
STREEP-TIGHTING
STEALTH COVE
STEAIITH COVE
STEALTH COVE
ROAD TO BREST
RETREATING DEEENDERS
LOWER TOWN
NIGHT DROP ZONE
CARTOUCHE
Seaborne assault conducted at night by Breton forces.
Objective: seize port access & neutralize forrified donjon.
Main breach achieved by flanking detachement.

Raid against Le Conquet.

Date of action: Early June 1512.

Location: Port of France, at the westernmost tip of mainland France. 48° 22' North; 04° 46'00East.

Conflict: Opening phase of the War of the Holy League. King Henry VIII of England acceded to it on November 13, 1511. War of the Holy League / Anglo-French naval war (1512–1514)**.**

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. Dissatisfied with the King of France, Pope Julius II had leagued against Louis XII of France: the Emperor of Germany, Spain, England, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines and the Genoese. France was supported only by Scotland and Gelderland.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English*: Admiral Edgard Howard.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: 22 warships and 3,285 men.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The Pope having excommunicated the King of France, the Breton peasants, too submissive to the Church, refused to defend themselves and fight against the English allies of the Pope[119] . They allowed the English columns

[119] For fear of being excommunicated themselves, Canon Law systematically excommunicated any Christian who tried to prevent the execution of a papal bull or order.

to plunder their own property without the slightest resistance. A grotesque situation.

Summary of the Action: On 3 June, the English Admiral Edgard Howard left the Isle of Wight with 22 warships and 3,285 men. He anchored in the bay of Bertheaume, and the English columns landed and plundered systematically and without any opposition all the villages situated between Le Conquet, Crozon, and as far as Brest.

Casualties & Losses ♦The English collected considerable booty. The human losses were insignificant or non-existent.

Aftermath and Significance of this French defeat, the English re-embarked with their booty under the frustrated eyes of the Breton peasants.

Source & Readings. Here is a good bibliography for the English coup-de-main against Le Conquet, early June 1512, during the opening phase of the War of the Holy League / Anglo-French naval war (1512–1514)**. ♦*Letters and Papers,*** *Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. I (1509–1514). **♦Pierre Le Baud –** *Histoire de Bretagne* (continuations, 16th c.). **♦Bernard André –** *Vita Henrici VIII***. ♦R. B. Wernham –** *Before the Armada: The Emergence of the English Nation 1485–1588* **(1966). ♦N. A. M. Rodger –** *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660–1649* **(1997). ♦Jean-Christophe Cassard –** *Les Bretons et la mer au Moyen Âge* (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1998). **♦Hervé Torchet –** *Histoire militaire de la Bretagne* **(2002). ♦*Mémoires de la*** *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne***. ♦Émile Chappet –** *Histoire de la Marine Bretonne* **(1910). ♦Y. Coativy –** *La Bretagne au temps de la Renaissance* **(2011). ♦Christophe-Paulin de La Poix, de Fréminville –** *Antiquités de la Bretagne* **(1832), vol. II. (**cartographic representations of Le Conquet, Saint-Mathieu, and the defenses relevant to the 1512 landing site.) ♦Atlas: ***Carte marine de la côte et du goulet de Brest*** (SHM / SHD, 16th–18th c. comp.)

Anglo-Flemish raid against Le Conquet.

Date of the Engagement: 29 July 1558

Location: 48° 22' North, 04° 46' West, Brittany, France.

Conflict: Wars against the Holy Roman Empire. Anglo-French War.

Historical Background: Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. Charles V of the Holy Empire abdicated in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand. England joined Spain in her war against France.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦*Anglo-Flemish* fleet: 150 ships, including 120 English and 30 Flemish. Total: 12,000 men.

Summary of the Action: On 29 July at 09:00 in the morning, the Anglo-Flemish fleet appeared unexpectedly off Le Conquet and undertook an unopposed landing. The Anglo-Flemish landed by the thousands with the light horses of the fleet, while the fleet shelled the coast to cover the landings. The 37 French ships anchored in the roadstead, armed with 300 cannons, were captured without any resistance. The city, barely awakened, was totally looted and burned[120].

[120] 442 houses were burned out of a total of 450 houses.

Aftermath and Significance of this French defeat: Then the neighboring town of Lochrist-Plougonvelin was also plundered and burned; Of its 450 houses, only 12 remained standing.

Source & Readings. ♦**Trognet, Mathieu,** *La Bretagne de la Renaissance (1480-1620)***.** Rennes: PUR, 2018. (warfare and coastal defence in Brittany under Henri II and François II; brief mentions of English raids on the Léon coast). ♦**Potter, David.** *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict 1540–1547***.** Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015. ♦**Calderwood, Neil.** *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne, 1544–1550***.** Cambridge University Press, 2019. (the 1558 campaign in northern France briefly notes that during the war with France an English force landed in this part of Brittany and burned Le Conquet). ♦**Ogée, Jean-Baptiste.** *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la province de Bretagne***.** 4 vols. Nantes, 1778–1780. ♦**Kerhervé, Jean; Pérès, Anne-Françoise; Tanguy, Bernard.** *Les biens de la Couronne dans la sénéchaussée de Brest et Saint-Renan, d'après le rentier de 1544***.** Institut culturel de Bretagne, 1984. ♦**Le Conquet –** article on the French-language Wikipedia. Useful quick reference: specifies a raid on 29 July 1558 by an Anglo-Flemish/Anglo-Dutch fleet of c. 150 ships (about 120 English and 30 Flemish). (Wikipedia). ♦**Pettegree, Andrew,** *"The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600".* – Discusses the complete destruction of the port of Le Conquet by the English in 1558 in the context of the local printing and cartographic trade (quantified damage estimates (for example, only 8–12 houses left standing out of several hundred) and note the raid by an Anglo-Dutch fleet of c. 130 vessels and 12 000 men.)

Battles around Dieppe.

Date of Engagement: 23 September - 6 October 1589.

Location: French Channel port, 150 km NW of Paris and 60 km north of Rouen; 49° 56' North, 01° 05' East.

Conflict. VIII War of Religion, 1585-1598. War of the League.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was Queen of England and Henry IV (de Bourbon) King of France. On 30 March 1585, the Catholic Holy League was formed under the high patronage of the Duke de Guise of Lorraine and under the leadership of the King of France Henry III. But it quickly became a struggle of ambition between the Guise family of Lorraine and the King of France. Also in 1588, Henry III broke with the League, had the Duke de Guise assassinated and allied himself with Henry of Navarre, a Protestant leader. Henry III was in turn assassinated by Jacques Clément, a fanatical monk[121]. Henry IV of Navarre succeeded him but had to face the League which refused a Protestant king. In mid-November 1589, a Scottish and an English regiment arrived, hired by the Queen of England Elizabeth I of the Tudor era, an ardent Protestant, to help the King of France crush the Catholic Holy League[122]. During this war, Catholic Brittany had, of course, taken the side of the League against Henry King of Navarre "the

[121] On the 1st of August 1589.

[122] The Sorbonnards themselves must have begun to lose their Latin.

Protestant". The Breton ports which declared themselves on the side of Henry IV. were mercilessly attacked and destroyed by the Catholic Bretons: thus Pontrieux, La Roche-Derrien, Lannion. Thrown back on the right bank of the Arques River, Mayenne crossed the forest on the 23rd of September and crossed the Béthune River, near Dampierre, to turn the royal lines and attack them on the eastern side. But the King [of France] had foreseen this movement; he broke camp at L'Eaulne and came to take up a position on the western cliffs of the castle of Dieppe, from where he could observe the movements of Mayenne[123]. Priv. Coll.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The antagonistic armies carried out multiple marches and countermarches in the region in

[123] Hardÿ de Perini. see in fine

order to threaten the adversary. Paradoxically, this time England sided with the King of France, Henry IV, who was still a Protestant.

Summary of the Action: At dawn on the 25th, the 400 withdrawn[124], who formed the Grand Guard of the entire League Army, were attacked so suddenly by 200 Navarrese horses... After a few skirmishes without result, Mayenne evacuated Janval and Bouteilles, then undertook the siege of the castle of Arques. The King came to attack it on 3 October with a reinforcement of 1,200 Scots and 4,000 English who had landed the day before in the port of Dieppe. The army of the League, decimated by desertion, was obliged to raise the siege and regain the heights of Martin-Eglise, through the marshes where it had been beaten, on the 21st of September. Mayenne gathered all his troops and presented himself on the 6th in front of the Dieppe fort of Pollet. But the defenders had been reinforced, and the King hastened in time to the assistance of Chatillon; the attack was repulsed.

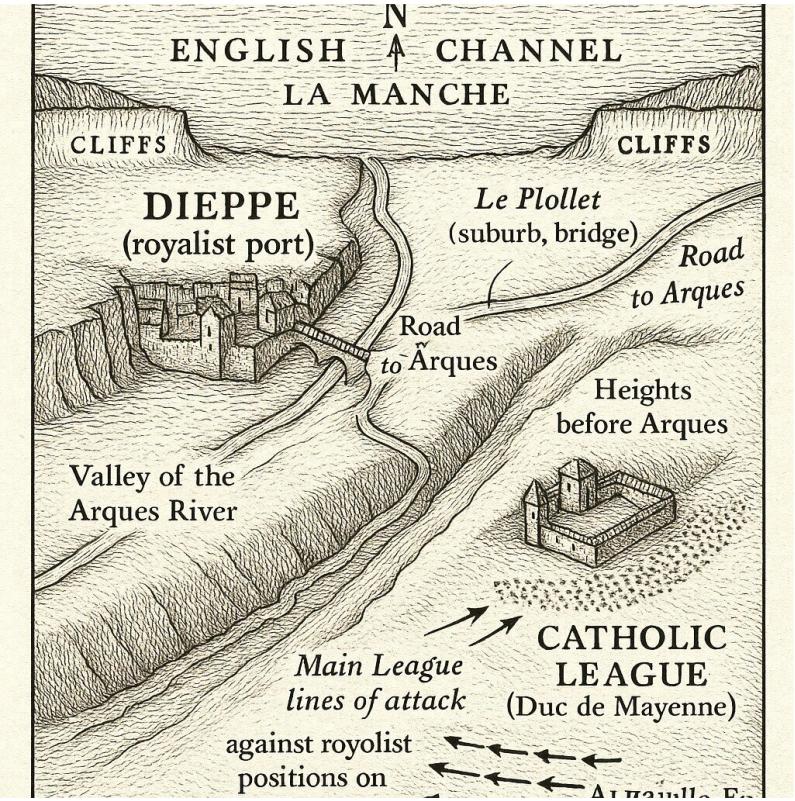
Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this battle, the French were fighting on both sides. Religion divided the countries of Europe regardless of political boundaries.

Source & Readings. Here is a **select bibliography** on the operations around Dieppe / Arques-la-Bataille in September–October 1589 (during the Battle of Arques and related actions in Normandy) — useful for a military-historical or broader narrative context. ♦Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registres-journaux du règne de Henri III / Henri IV*, ed. G. Schrenck & M. Lazard, Genève, Librairie Droz, 6 vols (1992-2003). ♦Pierre Miquel, *Les Guerres de Religion*, Paris, Club France

[124] It should be remembered that these were German mercenary cavalry; See above.

Loisirs, 1980. ♦Ronald Love, *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV and the Wars of Religion*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. ♦Arlette Jouanna, Jacqueline Boucher, Dominique Biloghi & Guy Thiec, *Histoire et dictionnaire des Guerres de religion*, Paris, Laffont, 1998. ♦General overviews of the French Wars of Religion (e.g., "French Wars of Religion | Research Starters", EBSCO) provide context for why Dieppe/Normandy in 1589 matter in the broader conflict. ♦Military-engineering or artillery histories (Henri IV's artillery at Arques is mentioned) for operational detail (e.g., Jeff Kinard, *Artillery: An Illustrated History of Its Impact*).



Topography of the Port of Dieppe. Priv.Coll,

Naval Combat of Dover.

Date of the Action: 30 August 1548.

Location: English Channel coast. Geographical coordinates: 51° 08' North latitude, and 01°19' East longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. The Regent of Scotland, the Frenchwoman Marie de Guise, mother of Mary Stuart, had appealed to France, which sent a fleet in June 1548.

Opposing Comanders ♦*English*: Admiral William Howard. ♦*French*: Vice-Admiral de La Meilleraye.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: 18 warships. ♦*French*: the convoy consisted of about forty troop transports and a single escort galley.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Obviously, the escort was too insignificant to secure such a convoy.

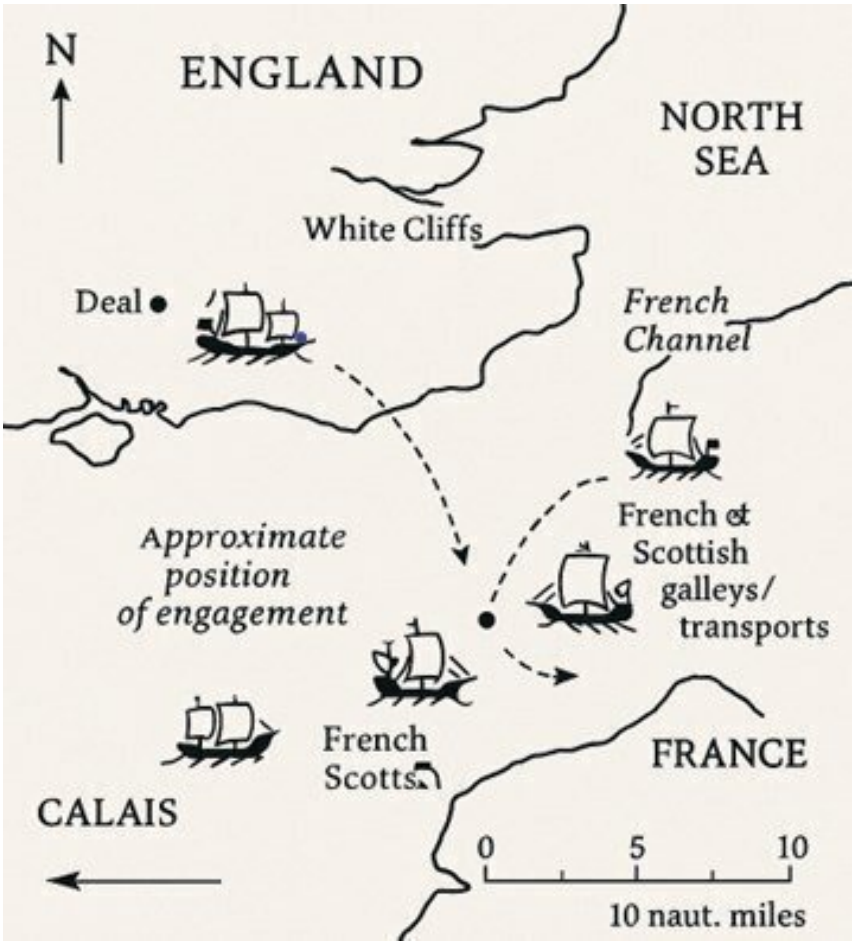
Summary of the Action: the engagement of 30 August 1548 off Dover is only a minor episode in the wider *Rough Wooing* and Channel war, you will mostly find it embedded in broader narratives of Edward VI's navy and Franco-Scottish operations rather

than under its own battle name. Disease and hunger plagued the crews of the transports that had been used to bring the French Expeditionary Force to Scotland. The Scots, either out of poverty or for any other reason, refused to give food to the French who came to help them. Every day many dead sailors had to be immersed. Vice-Admiral de La Meilleraye, who did not want to requisition supplies in this too poor country, decided to leave Scotland and return to France. A few warships were assigned to escort the empty transport ships. However, off Dover, the stragglers, escorted by a single warship, came across the 18 warships of William Howard's English squadron. After a furious fight, 12 tail transports fell into the hands of the English.

Casualties & Losses : 12 French transports were taken by the English.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat: The Scots' resupply mission had succeeded, but the loss of those twelve transports was keenly felt by the Assurances.

Source & Readings : This is a bibliography for the *very* small-scale naval combat off Dover in the context of the 1548 Channel and Scottish operations. ♦**Marcus Merriman,** *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000). ♦**Steve Murdoch,** *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare 1513–1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). – Covers Scottish and French naval activity, English counter-measures, and the loss/capture of ships such as *Great Lion* and *Pansy*; useful for context and references to Channel incidents 1547–1548. ♦**James A. Williamson,** *Maritime Enterprise 1485–1558* (classic but still useful survey). Includes discussion of French galley operations and English counter-cruising in the Straits. ♦**David Loades,** *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992, and later reprints). Tudor naval organisation; the sections on Edward VI's reign and "the Narrow Seas". ♦**Susan Rose, "**The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I," in *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I* **(**Boydell).


N
ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
White Cliffs
Deal
French Channel
French & Scottish galleys/ transports
Approximate position of engagement
French Scotts
FRANCE
CALAIS
0
5
10
10 naut. miles

Siege of Dunstanburgh

Date of the Engagement: mid-October 1462.

Location: Great Britain. Geographical coordinates: 54° 59' north latitude, and 01° 35' west longitude.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485. French participation.

Historical Background: Edward IV of York-Plantagenêt was King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) King of France. During the thirty years of the Wars of the Roses, the Yorks and the Lancastrians ruled in turn, according to the fortune of arms. The French, who supported the opposition, launched deadly harassment raids against coastal towns; raids that led to reprisals.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Pierre de Brézé[125], Floquet, P. de Vieuchatel. Queen Margaret commanded the Scottish

[125] Pierre de Brézé, born in 1410, grand seneschal and councillor of Charles VII. He contributed to the suppression of the Praguerie (name given, by association with the revocation of the Hussites of Prague, to the uprising which broke out in France in 1440 against the reforms of Charles VII. The dauphin Louis XI was the instigator) Pierre de Brèze had distinguished himself at the battle of Formigny and was kiled at Montlery in 1465, two years after the affair of Dunstanburgh. The house of Brézé also engendered Louis de Brézé, who was also seneschal of Normandy, but who, paradoxically, is much better known to historians for having been the deceived husband of Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henry II. He died in 1531. His magnificent tomb can be seen in the cathedral of Rouen. Jacques de Brézé [1430-1494], son of Pierre, was also part of the journey. His father appointed him governor of the fortress of Alnwick when it was taken. Less tolerant than

contingent. ♦*English*: The Earl of Worcester (of the Tibetot or Tiptoft family, *Grand Seneshal of Landes and Aquitaine*) and Sir Ralph Grey (Delaval family) led the siege that followed, which was intended to retake the city from the Franco-Scots.

Opposing Troops engaged: ♦2,000 French and Scots embarked on board the ships. ♦Dunstanburgh had a garrison of 120 professional soldiers, not counting the City Militia.

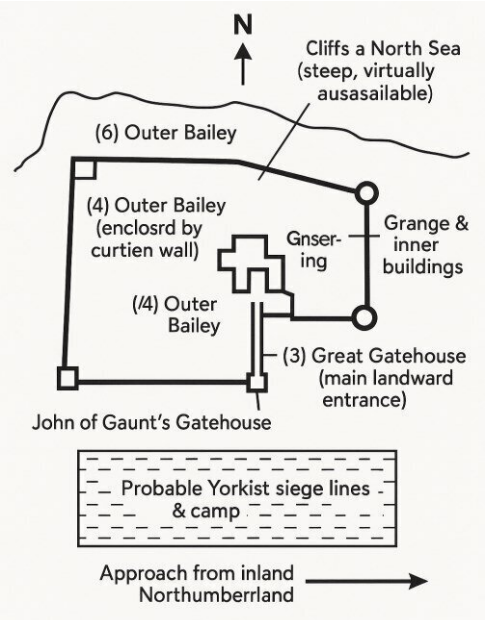
Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The siege was carried out in the usual way at the time: blockade, mines and counter-mines, assault with assault ladders, trebuchets and even some siege artillery.

Summary of the Action: As soon as the French cavalry had finished embarking, on the 7th of October, Brézé left Honfleur and sailed for Northumberland where he was to make his junction with the Duke of Somerset. But the latter refused to move. The fort of Tynemouth fired on the French squadron who landed troops, captured Bamborough, and blockaded, assaulted, and captured Dunstanburgh.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The city was immediately repaired and put in a state of defense in order to resist the English counter-offensive which would not fail to take place.

Louis, he killed his unfaithful wife [daughter of Charles VII and his mistress Agnes Sorel] with a sword.

Source & Readings **♦C. H. Hunter Blair & H. L. Honeyman,** *Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland*, HMSO / English Heritage guide (various eds., esp. 1955, 1960, 1982, 1986). **♦A. Oswald, J. Ashbee, K. Porteous & J. Huntley,** *Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland: Archaeological Research and Historical Background***,** English Heritage Research Report. **(**Interprets an earthwork south of the castle as a probable 1462 siege fort**,** very useful for reconstructing siege dispositions. (English Heritage). **♦Siege of Dunstanburgh Castle,** *December 1462*, *History of War* (online article). Describing Warwick's coordinated operations in the north. (History of War). **♦Dunstanburgh Castle –** The Wars of the Roses"**,** website (2024)(focused specifically on the 27–28 December 1462 surrender, with context on Percy's changing allegiances and the strategic significance of the castle.) **♦The War in the North: 1461–1464"**, Ferrers Household (online essay). including Margaret's **25 October 1462** landing at Bamburgh with a French force, the surrender of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh to the Lancastrians, and the subsequent Yorkist counter-offensive and sieges in December. (The Ferrers Household). **♦A. J. Pollard,** *The Wars of the Roses*. **♦Older narrative:** ***The Wars of the Roses, 1377–1471*** (public-domain monograph; available via Project Gutenberg). contains a narrative of the northern campaign mentioning the cluster of Lancastrian strongholds—Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick—and their reduction by Yorkist forces. **♦English Heritage, "History" and "Sources" pages for Dunstanburgh Castle** (online).



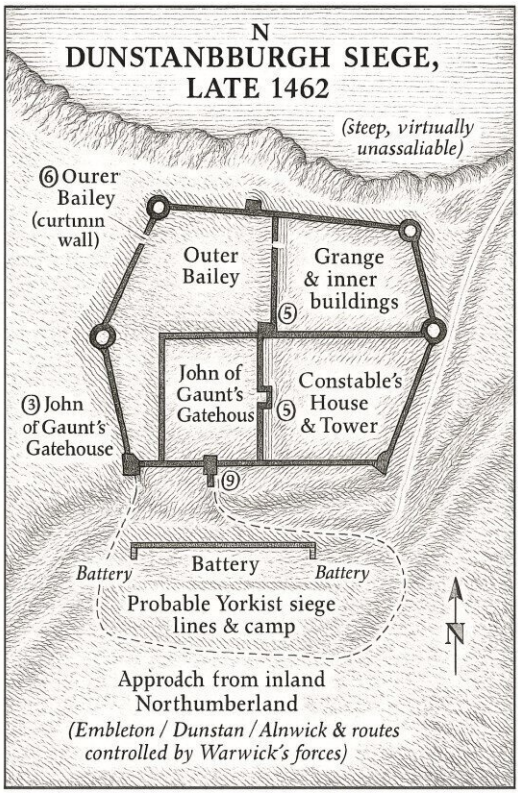
Dunstanburgl siege, late 1462

Approach from inland Northumberland (Embleton / Dunstan / Alnwick k routes controled by Warwick's forces)

Interpretation for October–December 1462: Late October 1462 – Margaret of Anjou lands at Bamburgh with a small French force; Bamburgh and then nearby Dunstanburgh submit, largely by negotiation rather than formal siege. (History of War).

December 1462 – Edward IV and Warwick organise **simultaneous Yorkist sieges** of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh and Alnwick. At Dunstanburgh, Yorkist forces establish themselves on the landward (southern) **side**, taking advantage of the boggy former meres and slightly higher ground south of the gatehouse; the sea-cliff side remains effectively secure from direct attack. (History of War)

A small rectangular earthwork south of the castle has been interpreted by English Heritage as a likely siege work from this campaign**,** providing a forward position from which to watch and contain the garrison.



Siege of Sluis or L'Écluse

Date of faction: July 1492 - 21 October 1492.

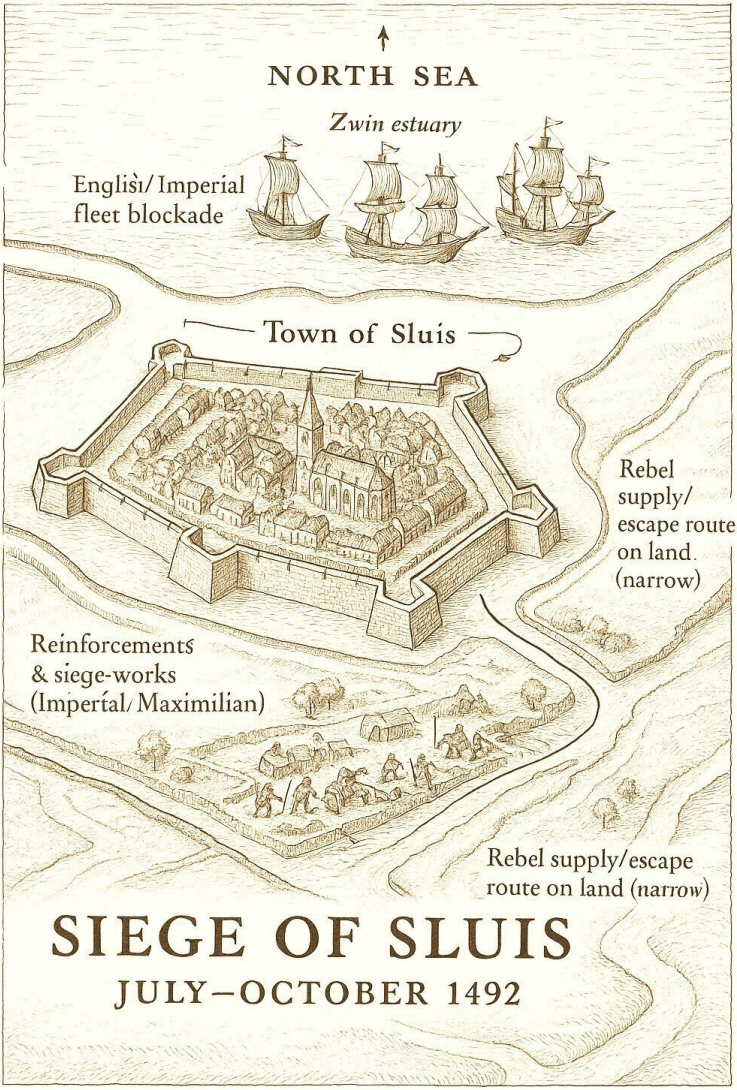
Location: Sluys or Sluis. It was still a seaport at the time: 51° 18' North; 03° 24' East.

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace.

Historical Background: Henry VII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VIII (de Valois) King of France. These attacks were launched to protest against the marriage of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII of France on December 6, 1491, and in response to an attempt by France to foment disturbances to help the Scots and the Irish to resist annexation by England. An English invasion was being prepared. At the end of June or beginning of July 1492, twenty English ships were detached to L'Écluse (Sluis), under the command of Admiral Cotton. The Lock remained the last defense of the Flemish communes because Charles VIII of France had sent troops to his ally Philip de Cleves who occupied the Lock on 5 June 1491 with the support of some Danish corsairs.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The Lock was an excellent observation post to monitor the movements of the English and of the subjects of Maximilian of Austria, their ally. Two years later, Maximilian was to become Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire on the death of his father Frederick III.

Opposing Troops engaged: ♦Unknown.



Summary of the Action: Philip of Cleves capitulated on 21st October 1492, but he obtained that the warships locked up in the port would leave freely, under the promise of not serving against the Archduke Maximilian for a year.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat: After the capture of the Sluis by his fleet, Henry VII of England landed a powerful army and attacked Boulogne, which was defended by the Bastard de Cardonne. But the English campaign lasted only three weeks, as Henry VII was tempted by a royal bribe from Charles VIII of France: 745,000 crowns. He therefore pocketed the bribe and returned home to London, abandoning his ally Maximilian of Austria, who, in desperation, signed the Peace Treaty of Senils with France on 29 May 1493[126]. The King of France preferred to buy a behavior rather than wage war to obtain it.

Source & Readings ♦Claude, H., *« Quelques lettres inédites de Philippe de Clèves »*, *Revue du Nord*, 49 (1967), 193-218. ♦Gachard, L. (ed.), *Lettres inédites de Maximilien I* (Brussels, 1879). ♦Zwinstreek local archives timeline, "1492: Op 8 juli krijgt de hertog van Saksen … bij de belegering van Sluis steun van 12 Engelse oorlogschepen… ♦Blockmans, W., *«Autocratie ou polyarchie ? La lutte pour le pouvoir politique en Flandre de 1482 à 1492, d'après des sources nouvelles (siège de L'Écluse, 29 juil. 1492.)»*, *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 140 (1974), 1-54. ♦Spijkers, J.H., *Punished and corrected as an example to all: On the treatment of rebellious nobles during and after the Flemish Revolts (1482-1492)* (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2014). — Includes case-study of Sluis surrender and the fate of Philip of Cleves. ♦Sicking, L.H.J., *Neptune and the Netherlands: State, Economy, and War at Sea*(Brill, 2004).

[126] This bribery recalls that of the War of the Spanish Succession, when Louis XIV succeeded in buying off Queen Anne of England and persuading her to abandon the battlefields of her allies — those very allies whom she herself had encouraged to go to war.

Naval combat of Falmouth.

Date of the action : July 6, 1544.

Location : England. Geographical coordinates

Conflict : War between France and the Empire of Charles V [Holy Roman Empire and Spanish Empire combined]. French participation in the Scottish Independence War.

Context : The squadrons of the two nations were trying "to insult" the coasts of the enemy country or to intercept its convoys.

Strategic and Tactical Considérations : boarding and artillery, if any. On 6 July 1544, a small English squadron off Falmouth intercepted French (or French-Flemish) privateers/supply ships, capturing several or forcing them into the harbour. The engagement, though minor in scale, illustrates the increasing Channel-operations of the Tudor navy and the vulnerability of Cornwall's coast. The date *6 July 1544* is cited in a dispatch ("Du Roeulx to Mary of Hungary, 6 July 1544") but that particular context relates to provisioning supply convoys, not a clear description of a naval battle. (from Scribd) There is scant mention in mainstream naval histories of a major fleet-action off Falmouth on that exact date. By contrast, the much better-known engagement is the Battle of the Solent in July 1545. (from Historic UK). The Brill volume reference indicates "*some Flemish ships were taken off Falmouth*" during this 1544 operations, hinting that a smaller scale action (raiding, convoy capture) rather than large fleet battle may be what occurred.

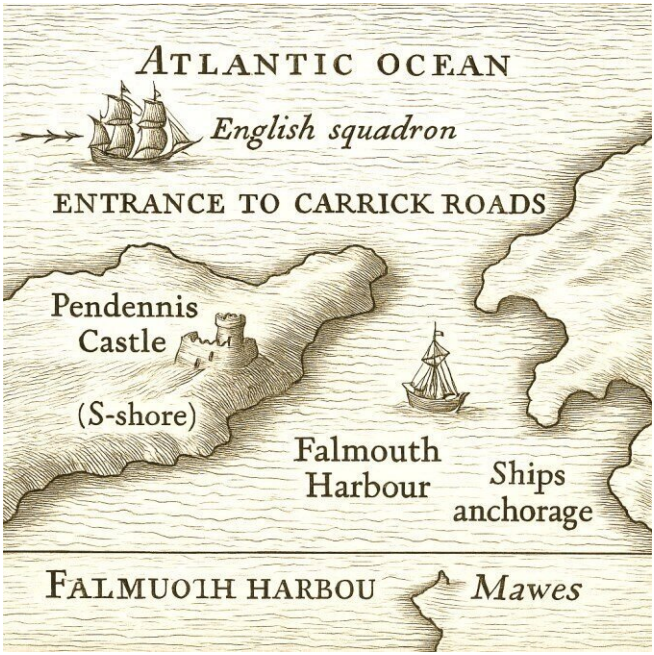
(from Scribd). Given the ambiguity, we may treat this as a *coastal naval skirmish or raid* rather than a pitched fleet-battle.

Summary of the action : Four French warships cruised off the English coast. They attacked Fal-mouth on July 6, 1544, where a squadron of Anglo-Spanish-Flemish ships was anchored. After a fight to the boarding, relentlessly for several hours, the French seized 11 ships.

Losses ♦Unestablished.

Consequence of this English defeat : The convoy of transport vessels was practically destroyed.

Source & Readings. ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, King Henry VIII.* Vol. XIX (1544). ♦*The Naval Miscellany, Volume VIII.* (Navy Records Society) (Contains transcripts of state-papers and naval dispatches of the mid-16th century. Possibly includes references to Channel/coast operations.) ♦**Loades, David.** *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History.* (Routledge).(Useful for the development of the English navy under Henry VIII, coastal-defense, and Channel operations.) ♦**Rodger, N. A. M.** *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 1509-1642.* (HarperCollins). [Offers broad context for 1540s naval war-operations between England and France, including raids and convoy-escort duties.] ♦The Admirals' War: The naval campaign in the Channel 1544-7" (Brill) [Chapter in *War at Sea in the Renaissance.*] ♦Susan E. Gay. *Old Falmouth.* (Archive.org) [A local history of Falmouth which may touch on maritime defense and coastal raids. Possibly helpful for local harbour-usage and harbour-defenses, circa 1540s. (War History Online). ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. XIX (1544). *The Naval Miscellany, Volume VIII.* Navy Records Society. ♦Gay, Susan E. *Old Falmouth.* (Archive).



The harbour referred to is the estuary around Falmouth, Cornwall, especially the stretch known as the Carrick Roads. On the landward side, the fortifications of Pendennis Castle (built 1540-42) guard the peninsula at Falmouth's mouth. For a naval action on 6 July 1544, a plausible scenario is a French (or Franco-Scottish) raiding squadron being intercepted by English vessels off Falmouth/Carrick Roads, or anchored ships being challenged.

Battle of Flodden

Date of the Engagement: 9 September 1513.

Location: Near Branxton, Northumberland, England. Geographic coordinates of the battle site: 55°38' N latitude; and 02°13' West longitude.

Conflict: War of the Holy League on the European Continent. King Henry VIII of England joined it on 13 November 1511.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XII (de Valois) King of France. Pope Julius II had leagued against Louis XII of France: the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, England, Veneto [Venice], Switzerland, Tuscany (Florence) and Liguria (Genoa). Wanting to take advantage of the fact that England was busy on the continent to attack it, and also to create a diversion from the main theatre of military operations [located on the European continent], the Scottish King James IV crossed the border of England on 22 August with an army of 25,000 men, including a French battalion [400 soldiers] who usually served as his bodyguard and who was used as a tactical reserve during the battle of Flodden. The Earl of Surrey, Governor of the Northern Marches of England in the King's absence, moved in haste to the Tweed Frontier Valley where the Franco-Scots *had climbed Ford Castle*. (sic!) On the way, he recruited local troops and eventually reached an impressive 26,000 men, including a very large number of archers, on foot or mounted.

Opposing Commanders: ♦*Scots and French*: King James IV of Scotland. The Comte d'Aussi commanded the French battalion as a Tactical Reserve. ♦*English*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, then more than 100 years old... 70 years!

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*Scots and French*: 25,000 soldiers, including a Corps from the French Army (400 Scots and French officers)[127]. ♦*English*: 26,000 men, including a strong Corps of archers.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The Scots were mainly armed with long but cumbersome 4.5m pikes, while the English carried the battle-axe [called *bill*], the short *halberd* of 2.4m, much more manageable, and above all the *Welsh longbow*: half of the English troops were made up of mounted archers. The English army was therefore extremely mobile, while the Scots were slower, delayed by their artillery[128]. In fact, both armies were followed by artillery, which was only rarely used. On the morning of the 9th, the Scottish troops were drawn up in battleline, on an axis facing the north-west[129]. In the center, the king himself with Craufurd on his left. The Scottish right wing was flanked by Clan Argyll[130] and the left by Home. In the rear, d'Aussi commanded the "French" reserve battalion. Opposite, the British army —ranged on an axis totally parallel to the Scottish line— faced the southeast: in the center

[127] Until then, they had been fighting on the continent in the French army. Thus, the so-called "French" battalion included only a handful of French nationals, all officers. On the other hand, this Bodyguard of King James IV Stuart was organized and trained "in the French style," and it was killed on the spot when the Scottish army was destroyed.
[128] Which was commanded by Borthwick
[129] The battle line was therefore oriented SW-NE
[130] Highlanders very poorly armed

Thomas Howard from the County of Surrey, covered on his right wing by his son Edmund Howard. His left flank was unprotected at the beginning of the battle, but the whole of Sir Edgard Stanley's English Cavalry was soon to appear at this point. Behind the English line, Lord Dacre's Cavalry remained too in Tactical Reserve.

Summary of the Action: Forced by the lack of resupply of food and logistics to act quickly, Surrey sent his herald Roger Sainte-Croix to the King of Scotland to invite the latter to fight immediately. Instead of buying time in order to starve the English, the latter agreed to set the date of the battle for 9th September. Late in the afternoon of the 9th, the battle began. It was the Scots of Home [of the left wing] who opened the fight by attacking first, they fell on the English right wing commanded by Edmund Howard, son of Surrey. The English wing was pulverized, Edmund wounded. The Scots, overflowing with enthusiasm, then rushed in pursuit of the English fugitives. Now, suddenly, the English Cavalry in tactical reserve [Lord Dacre] attacked the Scots of Home, who were too far advanced and who, as a result, presented their flank dangerously exposed. In the Centre, it was also the Scots who rushed forward: King James and Craufurd's divisions attacked the earl of Surrey to fix him and prevent him from coming to the aid of his wings. At this precise moment, Sir Edgard Stanley's English Cavalry (which had not yet taken up position on the English left side, *i.e.* at its intended position in the tactical arrangement), emerged from the rear, rushed forward in a turning movement in order to flank the Scottish right wing held by the poorly armed Highlanders of Clan Argyll on the left. The English archers, mounted, began to harass the Highlanders with a cloud of murderous arrows, and soon the ranks of

the latter were divided. The Highlanders —usually extremely strong elite troops— scattered and fled. Leaving some of his squadrons of cavalry to pursue, Edgar Stanley continued his turning movement with the bulk of his division with the aim of attacking the Scottish Centre from behind, while his archers continued their dangerous lateral pressure on the flank of the Central Corps, left uncovered and unprotected by the disappearance of the Highlanders of Clan Argyll. The Scottish Centre then eroded rapidly. King James gathered around him his last faithful, including the French battalion that covered him from behind. The final fight was long and desperate. The French battalion, in which the King had taken refuge, was decimated on the spot to the last man and the English halberds reached the King of Scotland who was quickly put to death. Night was falling, but the massacre continued late into the night. All the Scots who fell under the blades of the English were mercilessly massacred with the greatest frenzy. More than 1,000 were strewn on the ground in the early morning[131].

Casualties & Losses ♦10,000 Scots killed[132]; no wounded as they were all put to death[133]. ♦About 2,000 English killed and 3 to 4,000 wounded.

Aftermath and significance of this Franco-Scottish defeat, the threat of English control over Scotland increased. But nothing, except religion, could conquer this valiant people, whom the Romans

[131] According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica
[132] In fact, even the women and children of the neighboring villages were put to the sword by the English.
[133] The visceral hatred can be explained all the better because the English troops recruited were composed of frontier dwellers, i.e. among those who were in permanent contact with the Scots and who, therefore, felt many reasons to hate them.

themselves had renounced to subjugate. As for the Scottish clans of the Highlands —whose Catholic clans were particularly impenetrable to Protestantism— they suffered the same fate as the Irish in the 19th century, London came to the extreme: deportation and ethnic cleansing, later, under the name of Highland Clearances.

Two and a half centuries later, the poet Jane Elliot [1727-1805] wrote:

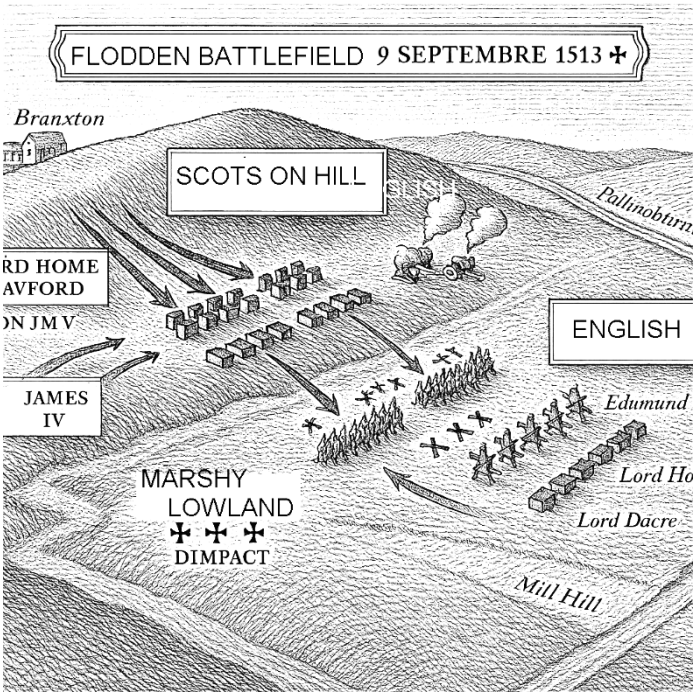
Lament for Flodden

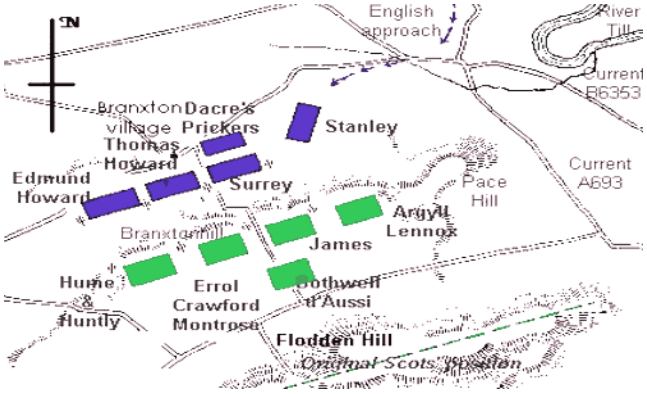
I've heard them lilting[134] at your ewe-milking,
Lasses a'lilting before dawn o'day;
But now they are moaning on ilka green loaning[135] —
For the flowers of the forest are a' wede[136] away.
At bughts[137] , in the morning, nae blythe lads are scorning,
Lasses are lonely and dowie[138] and wae;
Nae daffin[139], Nae gabbin[140], but sighing and sabbing,
Ilk ane lifts her leglin[141] and hies her away.
In har'st[142], at the shearing, nae youths now are jeering,
Bandsters[143] are lyart[144], and runkled[145] , and gray;
At fair or at preaching, nae wooing, nae fleeching[146] —

[134] Singing
[135] Lane.
[136] Withered.
[137] Pens, folds.
[138] Doleful.
[139] Toying.
[140] Jeering.
[141] Milking-stool.
[142] Harvest.
[143] Makers of strawbands for the sheaves.
[144] Withered.
[145] Wrinkled
[146] Flattering.

The Flowers of the Forest are weded away.
Dool and wae for the order, sent our lads to the Border!
The Engilsh, for ance, by guile wan the day;
The Flowers of the Forest, that fought aye the foremost,
The prime of our land, are cauld in the clay.
We'll hear nae mair lilting at the ewe-milking;
Women and bairns are heartless and wae;
Sighing and moaning on ilka green loaning —
The Flowers of the Forest are a'wede away.

Source & Readings ♦**Hall, Edward.** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* **(London, 1548).** ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vols. I–II (London Record Office). ♦**State Papers Scotland,** vol. I. English and Scottish state correspondence; includes references to Flodden and its aftermath. ♦**John Lesley.** ***History of Scotland*** **(1578).** ♦**Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie.** *The Chronicles of Scotland* (1575). **(**Vivid narrative of James IV's campaign and fall.) ♦**Mackie, J. D.** *The Battle of Flodden* **(1952). (**Still the most concise scholarly monograph on the battle and its historiography.) ♦**Sadler, John.** *Flodden 1513: Scotland's Greatest Defeat* **(**Osprey Campaign Series, 2006). ♦**Richardson, Glenn.** *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (2013). Not on Flodden per se, but excellent on Anglo-Scottish politics around 1513. ♦**Ridley, Jasper.** *The Tudor Age* **(1973).** Strong contextualization of Henry VIII's 1513 campaign. ♦**Boardman, Stephen.** *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II–James IV* **(1996).** Structural causes of James IV's military decisions. ♦**Norman Macdougall,** "James IV: The King and His Men," in *The Stewart Kingdom* (1998). ♦**Peter Armstrong,** "Reconstructing Flodden," ***Journal of Military History*** 62 (2000). **(**Discusses topography, artillery deployment, and the Scottish pike failure.) ♦**P. F. Tytler, "**James IV's Artillery Train**,"** *Scottish Historical Review* 48 (1969).





Flodden upside down

Siege/Capture of Fort Blackness

Other name: Fort du Grinez.

Date of the Engagement: from 22 to 26 August 1549.

Location: It is about *Fort Blackness at Cap Gris-Nez (near Boulogne)***,** not the Scottish *Blackness Castle on the Firth of Forth.* This was the English bastioned fort at Cap Gris-Nez, taken by the French in the operations of late August 1549. Although this name comes from an English corruption of Blanc-Nez, this point is closer to Cap Gris-Nez than to Blanc-Nez, between the cities of Boulogne-sur-Mer and Calais. Geographical coordinates: 50° 52' north latitude, and 01° 35' east longitude.

Conflict: France and England had officially been at war since August 8, 1549.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois King of France. Hostilities between France and England having resumed, it was decided by the French to take the last English strongholds on the continent from the English.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Seeing that the English were strengthening their continental positions, the French decided to seize these bridgeheads. To isolate the two English possessions

of Boulogne and Calais[147], the Connétable [Constable] de Montmorency and François de Guise decided to attack and take control of the "*Strategic lines of the Slack*". Fort Blackness was one of those strongholds. The fortress was taken without assault.

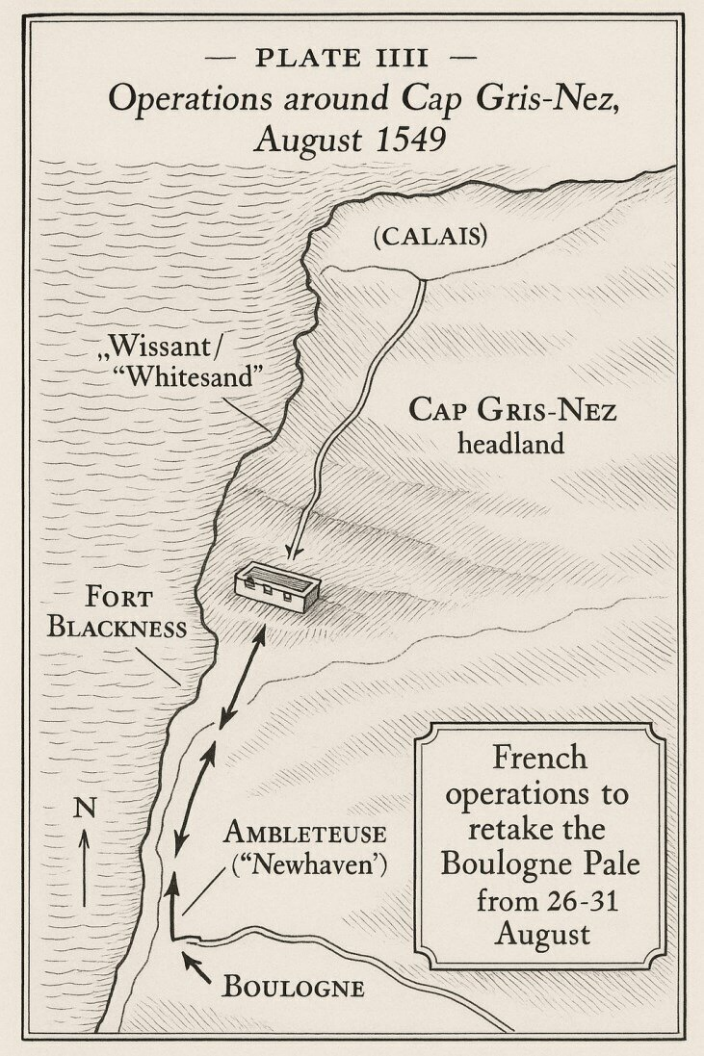
Summary of the action: The French army attacked Fort Blackness. The English garrison of this fort capitulated after a few cannon shots. On 27 August, Fort Grinez capitulated to the King of France[148].

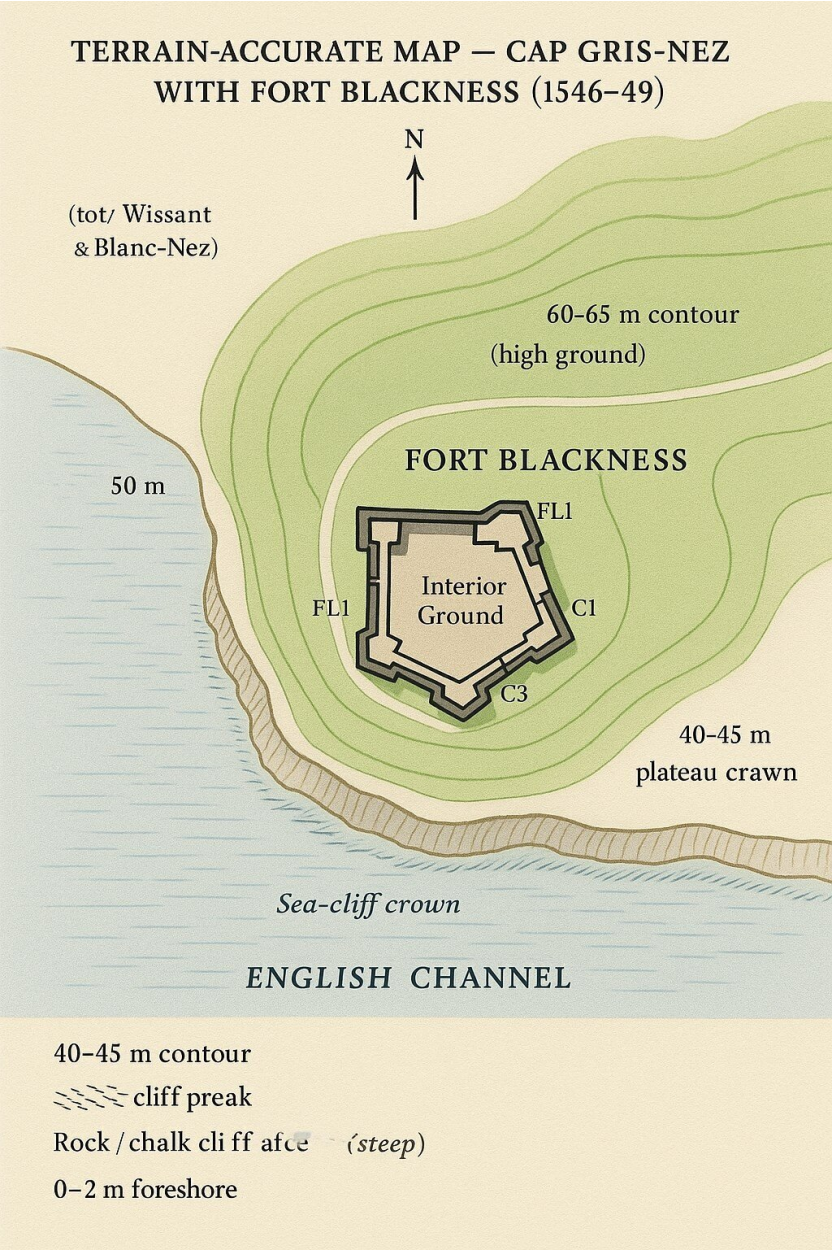
Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The capture of this strongpoint weakened the strategic situation of Calais and Boulogne. These rapid successes had, moreover, caused the greatest anxiety among the English.

Source & Readings: This was the English bastioned fort at Cap Gris-Nez, taken by the French in the operations of late August 1549. *Fort Blackness at Cap Gris-Nez (near Boulogne)*, not the Scottish Blackness Castle on the Firth of Forth. ♦W. K. Jordan (ed.), *The Chronicle and Political Papers of Edward VI* (London, 1966). ♦**Holinshed's Chronicles;** The note in the diary explicitly refers to *Holinshed*, 1808 ed., vol. III, p. 854, for the Boulonnais operations including Ambleteuse and Blackness. (French). ♦**A. de Rosny,** "Documents inédits concernant les sièges de Boulogne, 1548-1549," in *Mémoires de la Société académique de Boulogne***,** vol. 27 (1912). ♦**David Potter, *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne*** (Cambridge University Press, 1995) :**T**he Settlement of the Boulonnais" ch.4 and ch. 5 "The Boulogne Garrison"; Blackness at Cap Gris-Nez**,** their construction from 1546, strategic role in the occupation, and loss in 1549. ♦**G. Mocquot, "**Un ouvrage fortifié du seizième siècle: le fort de Blackness"**.** (Cambridge University Press & Assessment). ♦**Brill** volume, chapter "The War in France, 1545–1546". ♦**N. Murphy,** "Violence, Colonization and

[147] A true Gibraltar of the North.
[148] A French garrison was placed there under the command of Jean de Senarpont.

Henry VIII's Conquest of France, 1544–46**,"** *Past & Present* **233 (2016), esp.** section on 'Blackness?' ♦Archaeological & local-history work on Cap Gris-Nez.




TERRAIN-ACCURATE MAP — CAP GRIS-NEZ
WITH FORT BLACKNESS (1546–49)
N
(tot/ Wissant
& Blanc-Nez)
60–65 m contour
(high ground)
FORT BLACKNESS
50 m
FL1
Interior
Ground
FL1
C1
C3
40–45 m
plateau crawn
Sea-cliff crown
ENGLISH CHANNEL
40–45 m contour
cliff preak
Rock / chalk cli ff afce (steep)
0–2 m foreshore

Siege of Fort-Slack.

Date of the Engagement: 24 August 1549.

Location: Between Boulogne and Calais. Geographical coordinates: 50° 49' North latitude, and 01° 36' East longitude. The Fort-Slack and that of Ambleteuse were located at the mouth of the Slack, a watercourse that flows into the English Channel at the level of Ambleteuse[149].

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England had officially been at war since August 8th, 1549, when France opened hostilities. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V [Charles Quint] was temporarily stopped, until 1551.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. The Regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, had appealed to France, which had sent an Expeditionary Force the previous year. This reignited hostilities between France and England.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: To isolate the two English possessions of Boulogne and Calais, the Constable of Montmorency and François de Guise decided to attack and remove the "logistical lines of the Slack[150]". Fort Slack was one of these

[149] Their sites are now absorbed by the agglomeration of Ambleteuse.
[150] Support points that served as land lines of communication between these two great fortresses.

fortified strongpoints. After seizing *Marquise*, the French army camped on the heights of Bazinghen, some 7 km from Ambleteuse. There it was divided, and while the artillery supported by a few ordinance companies[151] took possession of Fort Slack by storm, on the 24th, the other units invested Ambleteuse, whose siege was immediately begun.

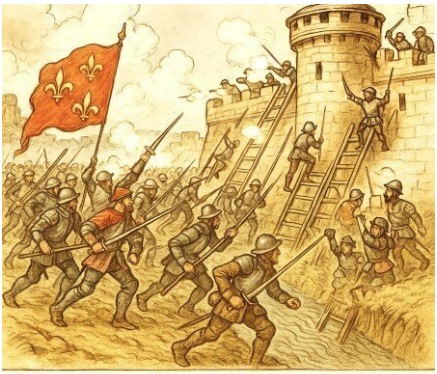
Summary of the Action: The French army attacked and stormed Fort Slack, at the mouth of the river of the same name. A few companies of assault regiments, supported by French artillery, seized the fort. The fight was bloody and carried out with the help of assault ladders. Several combined attacks divided the garrison, which was overwhelmed. The survivors were taken prisoner.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

[151] The Ordinance Companies had been created by the Decree of 26 May 1445. Each company consisted in principle of 100 lances. The lance had 6 men: Thornin of arms himself and 5 assistants including a page, a squire and 3 archers. The Ordinance Company was therefore composed of 600 cavalrymen, 100 of whom were heavy and armoured cavalry [the men-at-arms or gendarmes].

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The loss of this defensive strongpoint further weakened the strategic situation of Calais and Boulogne.

Source & Readings: Here's a succinct working bibliography for the **siege of Fort-Slack (24 August 1549)**. ♦**Murphy, Neil.** *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544–1550.* Cambridge University Press, 2019. (Boulogne, Newhaven/Ambleteuse, Blackness/Cap Gris-Nez, and minor forts like Fort-Slack). ♦**Castex, Jean-Claude.** *Répertoire des combats franco-anglais des guerres de la Renaissance.* Les Éditions P.-O. Vancouver, 2012, p. 102–103. Wikipedia. ♦***Siège* de Fort-Slack**, Wikipédia (fr).2. Context: forts between Boulogne and Calais (Newhaven, Blackness, Fort-Slack). ♦**Potter, David.** Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540–1547 *(History of Warfare series).* Includes the *design and construction of the Slack fort* by the engineer John Rogers (five-angle bastioned fort with barrage across the river Slack), valuable for reconstructing pre-siege geometry. ♦ **The War in France, chapter 6, 1545–1546**," *in* The Admirals' War: The naval campaign in the Channel… **(**Henry VIII's coastal fortification programme, including Rogers' five-angle fort and barrage over the Slack**)**. ♦**Murphy, Neil.** Various reviews and notices on *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne* **(EHR, Scottish Historical Review, etc.).** ♦ **De Jules César à Henri VIII**, official site of Fort d'Ambleteuse.



L'assaut du 24 août 1549
The Assault of 24 August 1549

Assault scene showing French companies crossing the ditch, ladders set under English fire, and the capture of the eastern bastion. Priv.Coll.

Battle of Guinegatte.

Date of the Engagement: 7 August 1479[152].

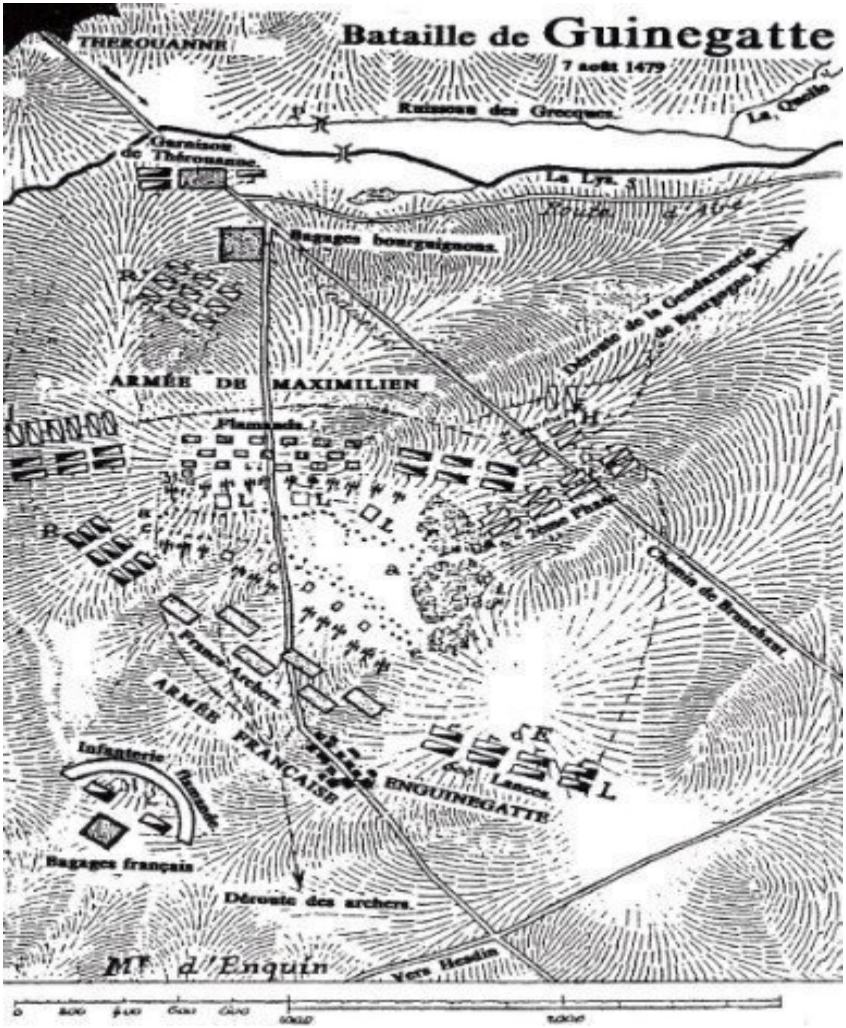
Location: Located 4[km] south of Thérouanne. Today Enguinegatte. Commune of Pas-de-Calais [62145 Estrée Blanche], France. Geographical coordinates: 50° 37' North latitude, and 02° 17' East longitude. The battlefield lies around **Enguinegatte / Enquin-lez-Guinegatte** in Pas-de-Calais, south-west of Thérouanne, between the D343 and D130 roads.

Conflict: Interference between the Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455–1485, and the [feudal] Civil War of the League of the Public Welfare in France. War of the Burgundian Succession.

Historical Background: Edward IV of York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) King of France. In France, as in England, a civil war was raging. Louis XI opposed the great nobility led, among others, by the ambitious Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and by the Duke of Brittany, Francis II. The King of France supported the English party of Lancaster-Plantagenet [Tudor]; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy. On the death of Charles the Bold, Louis XI of France wanted to seize Burgundy, but the marriage of his widow Mary to

[152] On August 16 according to La Roncière.

the German prince Maximilian of Austria thwarted these hopes and created a state of war between France and the Holy Empire.



Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Very schematically, the field can be imagined as: **North:** Thérouanne and the French relief

force approaching from the direction of Aire-sur-la-Lys. **Centre:** open, gently rolling pasture around the village of Guinegatte/Enguinegatte. **South / South-east:** Burgundian army (Maximilian) between Guinegatte and Enquin-les-Mines, with infantry pike squares in the centre and cavalry on the flanks, facing roughly north-west towards the French. On August 7, the French army arrived and deployed on both sides of the road, facing the Chaussée de Brunehaut[153] on which Maximilian was leaning. The French Centre consisted of two lines of francs-archers. Maximilian had placed his left wing in the shelter of the tiered woods, located between Guinegatte and the Merovingian causeway. Crevecceur judged at once that the wood which covered the allied left wing could serve as a curtain to turn the enemy. Whereas usually[154] a wood was considered a fulcrum rather than a danger [of being turned]. He therefore formed a squadron of 600 lances at a short distance[155], of which he took command. This was his right wing. Torcy, Grand-Master of the French crossbowmen, was to engage and attack the English archers. The French left wing [Baudricourt], included cavalry as well as some of the archers and companies of ordinance. The French baggage had remained behind in the sector between the mountain of Enquin and the hill of Enguinegatte. Maximilian drew up in a single line his 16,000 Flemings armed with long pikes. Each battalion leaned on another with a small interval between them, so that this infantry seemed to be arranged *in a portcullis* [156] In front of them, in the front line, stood three battalions

[153] Chaussée = causeway.
[154] At the time
[155] That is to say, 3,600 men.
[156] In "grid, grille, or hedge of spikes; une herse or haie-de-pointes in French." A portcullis is a heavy, vertically sliding gate or grille made of wood, metal, or both, that hangs in grooves at the entrance of a medieval castle or fortification. It is designed to be lowered from above to bar the entrance, providing a strong defensive barrier against enemies. The name comes from the Old French for "sliding gate".

of 1,000 lansquenets[157], pikemen and haquebutiers [arquebusiers], themselves covered by 500 English (or Welsh) archers who were to open the combat. 825 Brabant, Dutch, Flemish and Burgundian knights were distributed on the wings with their ordinance archers. Captain Salazar's 120 cavalrymen had reconnoitered the sector of Hesdin where the *French relief army* was reported. At Guinegatte, it was not the lansquenets [according to the custom of the time], but the English archers (Welsh, in fact) who opened the battle. The aim of this battle was to raise the siege of Thérouanne. The greed of the French was the cause of their defeat. According to Berault Stuart, the French failure was due to another mistake[158].

Opposing Commanders ♦The Archduke of Austria, Maximilian, led the Austro-Anglo-Flemish forces. The Comtes de Romont and

[157] The lansquenets were German foot soldiers [mercenaries] who fought under their own national banners and were commanded by officers of their own language. They were armed with swords, daggers, and arquebuses; most wore cuirass and bourguignotte [helmet covering their head and neck]. Some lansquenets were armed with large swordfish or two-handed swords. In some attacks, they rushed forward to mow the wood of the enemy's pikes and open a breach in their ranks.

[158] In line 89 of his tactical and strategic treatise, Berault Stuart [see biography at the Battle of Bosworth, 1485], comments on the battle of Guinegatte as follows: "Item, if they know that between them and their ennemys there is a poor passage that the ennemys cannot come into battle in order, that they go to two or three bow blocks from this passage and not nearer. And when they are gone, do what they see fit for those who fight and assail them. As at Guineaste, when the ennemys had passed half of their army through a strait and a passaige, the good lord of Torcy [Jacques d'Estouteville, lord of Torcy] was of opinion and wanted them to give over those who had passed. He was not believed, and passed all the said passage and lost the French the battle. Treatise on the Art of War, Berault Stuart, Martinus Mijhoff, The Hague, 1976. p. 5 [Article: If they knew that there was a bad passage between them and their enemies, so that the enemy could not keep their order of battle, let them post themselves two or three arrow's throws from this passage, and not nearer. And let them attack them when a sufficient part of the enemies has passed through the difficult passage. As at Guinegatte, when the enemy had made half their army pass through a bad and narrow passage, the good lord of Torcy was of opinion and wanted an attack to be launched on those who had passed. He was not believed; the French let all the enemy pass the ambush point and lost the battle.]

Nassau more specifically commanded the Flemings. ♦French garrison of Thérouanne: the French general Philippe de Crevecceur, sire d'Esquerdes.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*Austro-Anglo-Flemish and Burgundian* troops engaged: 27,000 men, including 700 English archers and 16,000 Flemings. ♦*French* relief army: 1,100 lances [i.e. 6,600 men] with 8,000 francs-archers, and a strong "flying artillery" including 37 serpentines[159]. French garrison of Thérouanne: 1,000 lances[160] and 1,500 crossbowmen. Total French strength: 22,000 men.

Summary of the Action: Maximilian had come to lay siege to Thérouanne. The battle to lift the siege began at 2:00 p.m. The English archers began to shoot, after having, according to their custom, *made the sign of the cross, kissed the ground, and shouted, "St. George and Burgundy!"* Their arrows and artillery wreaked great havoc on the French ranks. Then Crevecceur, who had come out of the besieged city with 600 lances, bypassed the Allies *through the woods* and attacked their left flank. The Burgundian men-at-arms of the Allied Right Wing passed through the rear of the Flemings to move towards their Left Wing in order to defend it against the French attack. At first, they valiantly supported the French attack. However, in the fury of the fight, they retreated, leaving the French to infiltrate between the Archduke's Infantry and his heavy Cavalry. The allied Heavy Cavalry [the Knights], seeing themselves cut off from the rest, turned on their heels and began to flee towards Aire-

[159] Light artillery pieces.
[160] That is to say 6,000 men.

sur-la-Lys and towards Saint-Omer, pursued by the French men-at-arms who were very anxious to capture these rich knights in order to extract large ransoms from them. In the meantime, the attack of the French francs-archers[161] against the English army and the German lansquenets had succeeded. The English had retreated in the direction of the Flemish "great portcullis" after abandoning their light artillery in haste. they took refuge behind the Flemish pikes which formed an impassable barrier for the French men-at-arms. At last, in safety, the English archers and the German haquebutiers stopped, turned round, and interspersed themselves in the intervals of the Flemish pikemen. Thus, while the 600 men-at-arms of Crèvecoeur, indifferent to the fate of the battle, chased away the ransomers, the Flemish pikemen took the offensive in an irresistible movement, overthrowing the French crossbowmen, retaking the cannons abandoned by the English and breaking up the unseasoned battalions of the parish Militia. They soon reached the empty French camp and began to plunder it. Seeing this, the rest of the French garrison of Thérouanne[162] rushed to the rescue. They could have turned the situation around by attacking immediately. But as they passed the allied camp, they could not resist the temptation to stop and plunder it as well. Thus, both sides were plundered at the same time. This greed cost the French victory.

Casualties & Losses ♦ Heavy but not quantified.

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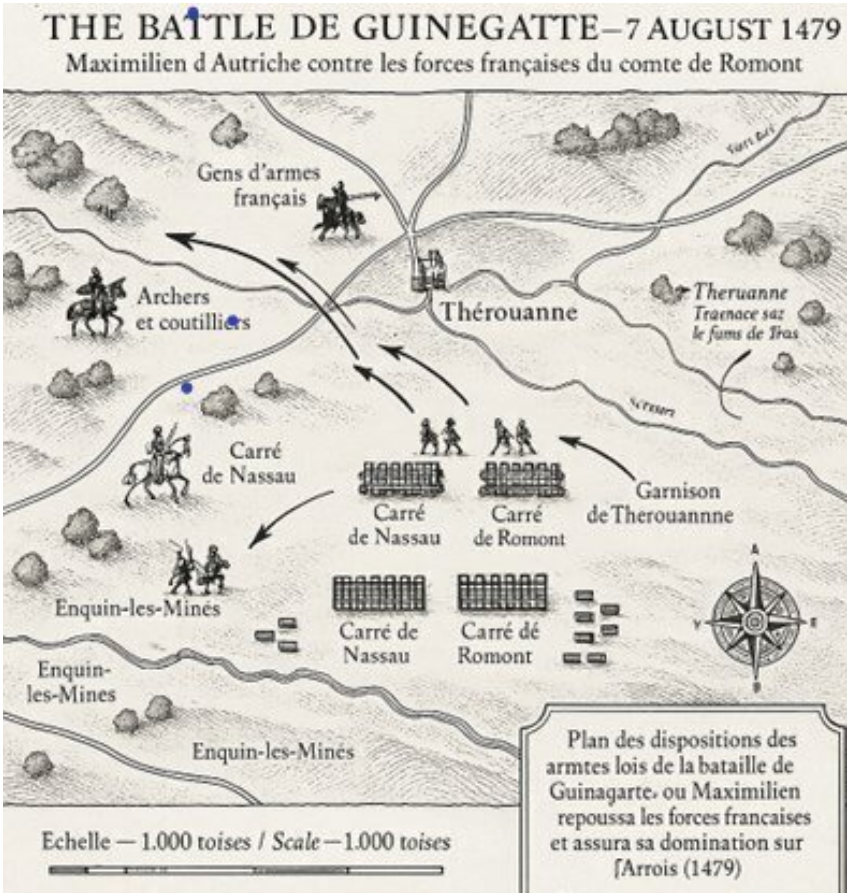
[161] These first regular infantry troops were called "free" because they were exempt from taxes. The adjective did not yet have the meaning it later took: *independent of the movements of the regular army* [e.g., franc-tireur].

[162] 400 lances and 1,500 crossbowmen, for a total of 3,900 men; The "lance" generally had 6 horsemen: the knight himself and his assistants, archers, valets and page. All were fighting.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat, Thérouanne was taken by the anglo-german Allies. The town was captured by the Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII from the French in 1513 after the Battle of the Spurs. In 1553 Charles Quint (V) besieged Thérouanne, then a French enclave in the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, in revenge for a defeat by the French at the Siege of Metz. After Charles V captured the city, he ordered it to be razed, the roads to be broken up, and the area to be ploughed and salted.

Source & Readings ♦**Schnerb, Bertrand.** "Guinegate, Battle of (1479)." In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology.* Oxf. University Press, 2010. ♦**Benecke, Gerhard.** *Maximilian I (1459–1519): An Analytical Biography.* Routledge, 2019. ♦**Haemers, Jelle.** *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy (1477–1482).* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009. ♦**Delbrück, Hans.** *History of the Art of War, Volume IV: The Dawn of Modern Warfare.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, repr. 1985. (discussion of Guinegatte as an early example of Swiss-style pike squares). ♦**Verbruggen, J. F.** Articles in *Journal of Medieval Military History* (esp. on Burgundian warfare). ♦**Haemers, Jelle; Querengässer, Alexander; others.** In *Before the Military Revolution: European Warfare and the Rise of the Early Modern State 1300–1490.* Oxbow Books, 2021. (Brief section on Guinegatte stressing Maximilian's adoption of Swiss and Hussite tactical elements (pike blocks, wagon-fort).


THE BATTLE DE GUINEGATTE–7 AUGUST 1479
Maximilien d Autriche contre les forces françaises du comte de Romont
Gens d'armes français
Archers et coutilliers
Thérouanne
Theruanne
Traenace saz le fums de Tras
Carré de Nassau
Carré de Nassau
Carré de Romont
Garnison de Therouannne
Enquin-les-Minés
Carré de Nassau
Carré dé Romont
Enquin-les-Mines
Enquin-les-Minés
Echelle — 1.000 toises / Scale — 1.000 toises
Plan des dispositions des armtes lois de la bataille de Guinagarte, ou Maximilien repoussa les forces francaises et assura sa domination sur ſArrois (1479)

Siege of Haddington.

Date of the Engagement: 1548 -1549.

Location: City located 20 km east of Edinburgh, Scotland, by 55º58' North & 02º47' West.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17th, 1546. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was also temporarily suspended.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois) King of France. War was

raging in Scotland. England sought to annex this country. But religion was beginning to do what arms had not done: the conquest of the spirits of the Scots. The Scottish population of the Lowlands was beginning to convert to Presbyterian Protestantism and the Scottish Civil War, between Protestants and Catholics, would favour the annexation of the Scottish Southern Lowlands. Thus, the English could count on the Protestants; as for the Catholics, they were helped by the French, for religious reasons, but also for dynastic reasons.

Troops Engaged ♦*French*: The French Expeditionary Corps of December 1547 consisted of 5 transports and 4 escort galleys. Reinforcements in June 1548 totaling 140 sail: 18 galleys, 26 other warships, and 96 transports, with 5,440 infantry. According to English sources, the French Expeditionary Corps fielded 8,000 French and 1000 German mercenaries[163]. ♦English: unknown.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Blockade, sporadic bombardments and assaults.

Summary of the Action: In June 1549, the command was assumed by M. de Thermes, who had arrived from France the previous April, with reinforcements of 1,000 infantry and 200 cavalry. D'Esse returned to France. Nothing is known about this siege, except that it was intensified on the arrival of Thermes. Towards the end of September, the English garrison capitulated.

Casualties & Losses ♦Unknown. The problem of that time was that only noble soldiers were counted; the deaths of common and

[163] Which seems a little excessive.

plebeian soldiers were not recorded. Very often, commoners—whether wounded or not— were put to the sword, for they could bring no ransom to those who had captured them. On the other hand, nobles sometimes set their own ransom at a very high level, as it signified a high degree of nobility. It was about as inviting to the poor as people strolling through poor neighborhoods wearing valuable jewelry.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: This fortress was too close to the capital to leave it in the hands of the English. Its capture gave the Franco-Scots some respite.

Source & Readings **♦Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Vol. I (1509–1589).** English dispatches, including Grey of Wilton, Somerset's council, and reports from Haddington's garrison. **♦Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI.** (French and Imperial reports about the joint Franco-Scottish operations). **♦***The Chronicle of Edward VI***,** ed. J. G. Nichols (Roxburghe Club). **♦Lesley, John.** *History of Scotland***. (**Scottish viewpoint of the siege and the French aid under André de Montalembert d'Essé. **♦Beaunant, André (engineer).** *Relation sur la prise de Haddington***,** 1549 (in *Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France***,** Michaud & Poujoulat). **(**extremely valuable first-hand engineering perspective.) **♦Jean de Beaugué.** *Histoire de la guerre d'Écosse* (ed. Teulet). **(**best French accounts of the campaign of 1548–49, including the fortification works and the final English evacuation.) **♦Marcus Merriman.** *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551***. ♦Gervase Phillips***, The Anglo-Scottish Wars and the Garrison of Haddington, 1547–1549," War in History.* **♦Ferguson, William.** *Scotland's Relations with England***.** (strategic significance of holding (and abandoning) Haddington. **♦David Caldwell***, Artillery and Scottish Fortifications in the Mid-Sixteenth Century.* **♦Christopher Duffy.** *Siege Warfare 1494–1660***. ♦R. A. Fawcett,** *"Sixteenth-Century Defences at Haddington," Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland***.**

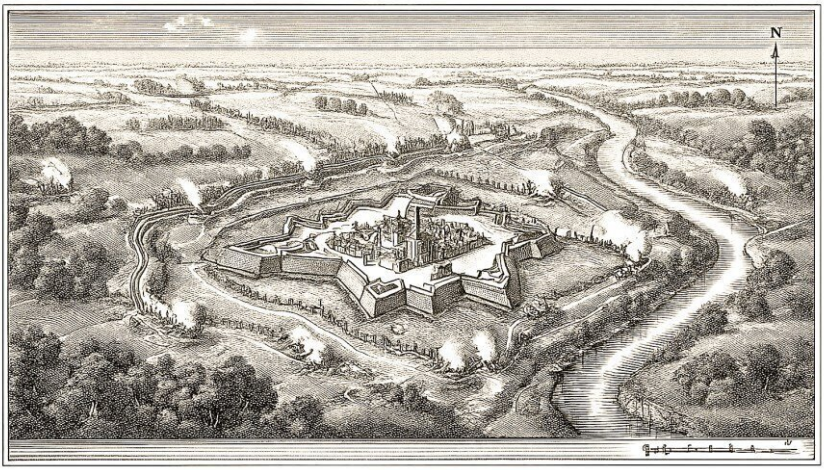


PLATE — SIEGE OF HADDINGTON, 1548–1549.

Assault on Harfleur. Priv.Coll.

Raid on Harfleur.

Date of the Engagement: Between September 2nd, 1457, and All Saints' Day, November 1st.

Location: Normandy city of Seine-Maritime; 49° 30' North, 00° 12' East; France.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Henry VI of Lancaster-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VII (de Valois) King of France. The Lancastrians [red rose on arms], who had lost the Hundred Years' War against the French, ruled England through the unpopular Henry VI. Richard of York [white rose on arms] therefore claimed the throne of his cousin Henry VI. During the thirty years of this war, the Yorks and the Lancastrians governed in turn, according to the fortune of arms. The King of France supported the English Lancastrian [Tudor] party; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy.

Opposing Commanders: Leaders unknown.

Opposing Troops engaged: unknown.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This English expedition was intended to retaliate against the French raid on Sandwich. It was a minor but well-documented episode of the last Lancastrian

holdings in Normandy, involving a sharp French naval blow against the English garrison and shipping at Harfleur.

Summary of the Action: An English squadron attacked Harfleur but found the town strongly held and retreated after a few unsuccessful attempts.

Casualties & Losses : unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English failure, the French coastal towns repaired their fortifications in order to resist English raids.

Source & Readings: ♦**Jean Chartier.** *Chronique de Charles VII***.** Ed. Vallet de Viriville. Paris, 1858–1863. (French naval preparations under Pierre de Brézé and destruction of English vessels at Harfleur.) ♦**Thomas Basin.** *Histoire de Charles VII et de Louis XI***. (**comments on French coastal operations in 1457 and the harassment of English enclaves.) ♦***Calendar of Patent Rolls* **and** ***Calendar of Close Rolls* (Henry VI).** — English administrative reactions to the Harfleur raid; reports on shipping losses and defensive measures. ♦**Jean de Wavrin.** *Recueil des Chroniques d'Angleterre***. (d**etails from the English side on naval actions affecting the Channel war.) ♦**Jonathan Sumption.** *The Hundred Years War, Vol. IV: Cursed Kings***.** London, 2015. ♦**A. R. Myers.** "English Naval Power and the Loss of Normandy, 1449–1450." *English Historical Review*. (On the vulnerability of the remaining English outposts after 1450). ♦**Christopher Allmand.** *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300–c.1450***.** ♦**Philippe Contamine.** *La Guerre au Moyen Âge***. (**overview of French maritime organisation under Charles VII and the rise of Brézé's naval initiatives). ♦**Bertrand Schnerb.** *Pierre de Brézé, conseiller et chambellan de Charles VII***.** ♦**Atlas de la Guerre de Cent Ans**, ed. Philippe Contamine. (reconstructions of English enclaves.

Siege of Haverford.

Date of the Engagement: August 1405.

Location: S.-W. of Wales, located 15km north of Pembroke, on the West Cledday. 51°49'N, 04°58'W

Conflict: Hundred Years' War, 1337-1453. Welsh Revolt: Wales insurrection against the English. French expedition to Wales.

Historical Background Henry IV of Lancaster-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles VI le Fol (de Valois), the King of France. ♦Glyndŵr and Edmund Mortimer had a significant relationship during the Welsh Revolt. Edmund Mortimer was captured by Owain Glyndŵr at the *Battle of Bryn Glas* in 1402. King Henry IV refused to defray the ransom for him, after which Mortimer switched allegiance to Glyndŵr. He later married Glyndŵr's daughter, Catrin ferch Owain Glyndŵr, and together they allied with the Percys against the King under what became known as the *Tripartite Indenture*. Mortimer died during the siege of Harlech Castle in 1409, and his wife and daughters were later captured and died in prison. 1405 was a key moment: In February, negotiations took place for the "Tripartite Indenture[164]" between Glyndŵr, Edmund Mortimer, and Henry Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland — an agreement to divide England and Wales among them in the event of a victory against the English. France had sent a French Expeditionary Force to Wales. It grouped at L'Ecluse (Sluis). Then Admiral Thomas of Lancaster, son of the King of England, got in

[164] Indenture = contract, traity, agreement.

the way of the project by trying to seize the citadel of Sluis (L'Ecluse). But he failed. He then headed for Saint-Vaast-La-Hougue to practice *scorched earth*. On July 22nd, 1405, the French division of Harfleur [16 ships and two carracks] joined the Brest squadron. The Expeditionary Force promised to Glyndŵr, set sail, landed at Milford, took the town and then headed for Haverford.

Opposing Commanders ♦The *French* squadron was commanded by Admiral Le Borgne de La Heuse. The grand master of crossbowmen was Jean de Hangest, and Marshal de Rieux led the land troops, Owen Glyndŵr commanded the insurgent army.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*French*: 120 sails of all sizes carried 600 crossbowmen, 800 men-at-arms and 1,200 infantries. This makes only about twenty men, on average, per ship, which implies that the ships were of small tonnage. Owen's army[165] , which numbered 10,000 men, had made its junction with the French.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Assault by climbing with ladders.

Summary of the Action: The French Expeditionary Force stormed the town of Haverford. Nothing is known about the fight itself. It can be assumed that the city was taken by escalation.

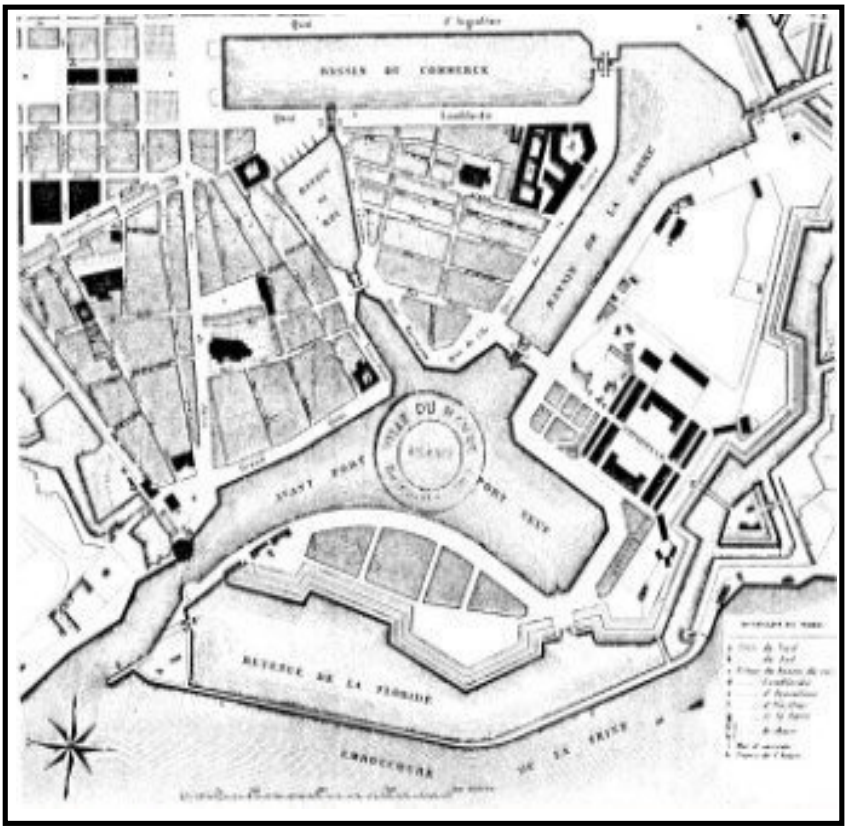
Casualties & Losses : unknown. That likely means that no man of rank was killed.

[165] Owen Glendowr was the Chief of the Welsh insurgents. He had fomented all these disturbances for his own personal benefit. He wanted to regain control of Wales.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The insurrection was well underway, and the victors headed for Tenby.

Source & Readings **♦Adam of Usk**, *Chronicon* (c. 1377–1421). (the Glyndŵr revolt; mentions western Welsh campaigns and English defensive responses). **♦The Brut y Tywysogion / Brut y Saeson. (**Welsh chronicle tradition; though terse, it provides context on Owain Glyndŵr's 1405 operations across south-west Wales). **♦Calendar of Patent Rolls** *(Henry IV, 1405–1408)* **(**Includes commissions of array, raising of troops, and emergency defenses for towns such as Haverfordwest). **♦R.R. Davies**, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1995). (places the events of summer 1405 in strategic context). **♦J.G. Edwards**, Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Struggle for Welsh Independence. (*Royal Historical Society).* **♦A.D. Carr**, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990). **♦R. Turvey**, *The Welsh Wars of Independence* (Tempus, 2002). (the August 1405 campaign). **J. Beverley Smith**, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and the Welsh Princes* (UWP, 1998). (Welsh-English relations and rebellion). **♦Pembrokeshire County History**, Vol. II: *Medieval Pembrokeshire*. (includes the fortification and urban layout of Haverfordwest).

HAVERFORD, AUGUST 1405



Plan of Le Havre-de-Grâce (Late18 c.) Priv.Coll.

Siege of Le Havre-de-Grâce.

Date of the Engagement: 27 May - 29 July 1563.

Location: French coast of the English Channel ; 49° 30' North, 00o 08' East.

Conflict: In France was in a civil war: First War of Religions, 1562-1563. English aid to French Protestants.

Historical Background: Edward IV York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Charles IX (de Valois) the King of France. Le Havre was in English hands. On September 20, 1562, Queen Elizabeth I of England signed the *Treaty of Hampton Court* with French Protestants. In exchange for her help, they handed over Le Havre to the English. Elizabeth was not uninterested; she was all the more interested in having Le Havre given to her, as she already sensed difficulties in recovering Calais, ceded to France for only 8 years by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis [in 1559]. Elizabeth therefore considered exchanging Le Havre for Calais, but Charles IX of France refused and decided to besiege Le Havre. In 1562, the predominantly Catholic population of Dieppe expelled its English garrison for religious reasons.

Opposing Commanders ♦Viscount Dudley de Warwick, commanded the English garrison in Le Havre. ♦The marshal of Cossé-Brissac commanded the French at the beginning of the siege, then he was replaced by the constable [Connétable de Montmorency.]

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English garrison*: 9,000 men, plus 8 warships intended to block the mouth of the Seine, and 3 cruisers which ensured logistical communication with Portsmouth. ♦The *French* besieging forces consisted of German mercenaries[166], commanded by Jean-Philippe de Salm, Count de Rhingrave. The reiters had the mission of watching the movements of the English garrison and they had landed on the heights of Ingouville, between Montivilliers and Harfleur. The Infantry was made up of 4 French regiments, but the Cavalry remained very weak: a few reiters and a few mounted infantry (dragons). The artillery played an important role.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This siege provides the natural succession of phases of siege warfare: the cavalry occupied themselves from the beginning in cutting off communications, and in watching the enemy. Then followed the bombardment by the artillery, closer and closer; the trenches or approach works, then the breach and finally the assault. But the English did not wait for this last step to capitulate. Warwick had just modified the fortifications of Le Havre. He had built a fort with four bastions in the quartier of Percanville[167] to ensure communications with the plain of Leurre and to defend this façade.

[166] 3,000 lansquenets and 4 cornettes of reitres or 800 horses. After having been the standard of a company of cavalry, the cornet had become by metonymy the company itself, 200 cavalry. The lansquenets [of land, land and knecht, servant of the country] were German infantrymen armed with a pike or halberd. The word reitre comes from the German reiter, horseman.

[167] Percanville se trouve à l'Ouest de la ville dans le quartier situé entre les bassins, qui n'existaient pas à l'époque.

Summary of the Action: When the *Peace of Ambroise* was signed between French Catholics and Protestants[168], the Protestants of Le Havre-de-Grâce immediately began to prepare for the siege that could not fail to occur. In fact, it was *their* preparations that led to the siege. The prophecy was self-fulfilled by its mere evocation[169]. They first took possession of the city and all the fortified points. The Huguenot aristocrat de Beauvoir de Node became the Protestant Governor of the stronghold. Sir Adrian Poynings, English captain of Portsmouth, landed at Le Havre. The Earl of Warwick also arrived with another English Expeditionary Force which drove the French Catholics out of the city and seized the ships in the harbor. On May 21st, 1563, the English made a sortie on Ingouville. they drove back the Germans, who had to occupy a higher point on the hill. War was officially declared on 12 July 1563. The first events were limited to a few skirmishes, such as the capture of the *Château de Tancarville,* whose garrison was English. On the 5th of June, a double attack was directed, but without result, against the new Fort Warwick and Boulevard[170] de Sainte-Adresse. Brissac placed 30 guns in battery near the village of Leurre and cannonaded Fort Warwick, while the Rhingrave installed artillery to the north-west, at the end of the shore, to threaten and bombard the port and the entrance to the roadstead. The city was thus entirely invested by solid lines of circumvallation and countervallation. The main body of troops were on the coast: the Swiss, the Regiments of Sarlabous, Charry, Richelieu, and Maréchal de Brissac.

[168] In March 1563.
[169] Self-fulfilling prophecy.
[170] Let us also remember that a *boulevard* was a strongly fortified line of defense or even a simple linear work.

The trenches[171], intended to approach the defenses of the place under cover, were begun on the 1st July. The work was constant despite the frequent sorties of the English[172]. On July 21st, the lines of investment sealed off entirely the city. The trench was pushed towards the *English bastion of Sainte-Adresse*[173]. A breach was then opened in a defense *boulevard*. In the port, the *Tour de Vidame* was broken. The Anglo-Huguenots, decimated by the plague, were at the end of their strength to the point of no longer being able to bury their corpses. The French trenches soon reached the foot of *Fort-Warwick*. The English abandoned their trenches on July 24th. They were decimated by disease[174], and partly separated from the sea which constituted their traditional logistical lines, their escape route in case of a rout. Their situation was becoming critical. Montmorency, who had taken command of the French, had an artillery platform built to install a battery of four guns which made two breaches: one in the boulevard de Sainte-Adresse, wide enough for 60 men, and the other in the Tour de Vidame. The order for a general assault was given. Montmorency insisted on leading it in person with 2,000 elite men selected from the various regiments. But the assault had to be called off because the English, who saw the final assault coming, asked to negotiate a capitulation. It was signed on 29 July[175].

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[171] Gabions were cylinders of woven wicker, filled with earth, which played the role of today's sandbags to reinforce a position, especially in rocky terrain. The trench was said to be flying when it was built entirely of gabions, i.e. on a rocky or swampy surface.
[172] Intended to slow down or destroy the city's investment works.
[173] An artillery battery.
[174] They were losing 100 men a day to the plague.
[175] In fact, in the event of an assault, the soldiers had the right to plunder and violence against the population.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat. The city of Le Havre was handed over to the French with its artillery and ammunition. There was an exchange of prisoners without ransom or indemnity, and a 6-days delay for the English to evacuate. Two days after[176] this capitulation... the British relief fleet finally arrived: Admiral Clinton with 17 ships and transports. Instead of saving the place, they only served to evacuate the remains of the English troops.

Source & Readings on the French royal siege and English capitulation (May–July 1563), ♦**Durot, Éric.** *Elizabeth's Army in France, 1562–1563***.** In: various articles/chapters on the English expedition to Normandy and the occupation of Le Havre; focuses on the expeditionary force, Warwick's command and the capitulation in July 1563. ♦**Trim, D.J.B.,** The 'Foundation-Stone of the British Army'? English Armies in France, 1562–1563." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (1999). ♦**Sutherland, N.M.** *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition***.** (Sections on the First French War of Religion and the joint Catholic–Huguenot campaign against English-held Le Havre (plague, trench warfare, capitulation 28 July 1563). ♦**Potter, David.** *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy 1470–1560.* ♦**Thompson, James Westfall.** *The Wars of Religion in France, 1559–1576***.** (Narrative chapters on the English at Le Havre and the joint siege by Condé and Montmorency. ♦***Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth I*****, vols. 4–5 (1562–1563).** (Dispatches from the Earl of Warwick and other officers at Le Havre (especially May–July 1563). ♦**Folger Shakespeare Library, "***Elizabethan Court Day by Day – 1563"* (online PDF). Extracts and references to letters about the fighting around Le Havre and attacks in June 1563. (Folgerpedia). ♦**Jouanna, Arlette; Knecht, Robert J.;** and articles in the *First French War of Religion (1562–1563)* entry (online).

[176] July 31st.

N
LE HAVRE-DE-GRACE,
SIEGE DE 1563

Naval Battle of Holy Island.

Other name: **Lindisfarne.**

Date of the Engagement: Early November 1462.

Location: Islet located a few hundred meters from the English coast, on the border with Scotland. 55°41'N; 01°48'West.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Edward IV York-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) the King of France. The latter supported the English Lancastrian-Plantagenet [Tudor] party; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy. The English and the French launched deadly harassment raids against coastal towns. On the arrival in France of Margaret of Anjou, wife of King Henry VI of Lancaster of England, who had until then taken refuge in Scotland, Louis XI of France provided her with a squadron and reinforcements.

Opposing Commanders ♦Lord Ogle and John Manners commanded the English.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦Unknown number of recruits.

Summary of the Action: After besieging and capturing Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh and Alnwick, Brézé put to sea again. But the storm arose, dispersed the French squadron, and threw Queen Margaret's

ship at Berwick, and the other ships in the Amborough region, in the little island of Lindisfarne[177], where the English ships from Newcastle-upon-Tyne[178], which pursued them, attacked them. The fight was ferocious; in the end, the English, who were much more numerous, had the upper hand.

Casualties & Losses ♦The caravel of the Comte d'Eu and three large French ships fell into the hands of the English squadron. The battle cost the Franco-Scots 500 killed and an unknown number to the English.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat: On a boat, Pierre de Brézé, then 52 years old, reached Berwick-upon-Tweed, then returned to relieve his son Jacques besieged in Alnwick by Lord Scales and the Earl of Kent. His 10,000 Scots repelled the English besiegers, but confined themselves to bringing the French garrison back to Scotland in January 1463. The expedition of Queen Margaret of Anjou was over.

Source & Readings: **♦Warkworth's *Chronicle* of the first thirteen years of Edward IV**, ed. J.O. Halliwell (Camden Society, 1839). Brief notice of Margaret of Anjou's 1462 expedition and the fate of her French troops. **♦William Gregory,** *Gregory's Chronicle of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876–77). Gives numbers of French captured or slain around Holy Island and the Northumbrian castles. **♦Brief Latin Chronicle"** and **"Brief Notes" in *Three***

[177] Holy Island today.

[178] The City of Newcastle (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) played a strategic role in this conflict. It was a Lancastrian stronghold, important for its coal trade and northern position. This city was controlled by the Lancastrians for much of the conflict. In 1461, before the Battle of Towton, Margaret of Anjou and her army gathered support in the north, using Newcastle as a rallying point. After Towton, Edward IV's victory secured the city and the northeast for the Yorkists. So when chroniclers mention "Newcastle" in the context of the Wars of the Roses, they are referring to the city, not a person.

Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1880). ♦**Edward Hall,** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548) and **Richard Grafton,** *A Chronicle at Large* **(1569)** – Tudor narrative accounts of the 1462 campaign and the destruction of the French on Holy Island. ♦**Paston Letters**, esp. vol. II, ed. J. Gairdner – Yorkist correspondence giving background on northern operations in 1462–63. ♦**A.J. Pollard,** *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Key regional study; reconstructs Margaret's 1462 expedition, the Bamburgh–Alnwick–Dunstanburgh campaign and the shipwreck/capture of French troops on Holy Island. ♦**A.J. Pollard,** *The Wars of the Roses*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke). (1462 northern campaign and the Holy Island episode within the wider war.) ♦**Charles Spencer Perceval,** *"On Certain Inaccuracies in the Ordinary Accounts of the Early Years of the Reign of King Edward IV,"* **Archaeologia***, vol. 47 (1882).* Re-examines the chronicles for 1462; discusses Margaret's fleet (c. 40–52 ships), the storm, and the grounding of de Brézé's contingent on Holy Island. ♦**W.E.L. Broad***, "Northumberland at War" (MA dissertation, Durham University).* Includes analysis of the wreck of c. 400 French soldiers on Lindisfarne and subsequent Yorkist actions. ♦**Battles of the Wars of the Roses** *(Pen & Sword). (*short section summarizing the Holy Island disaster). ♦**Syntheses on Holy Island/Lindisfarne**, e.g. English Heritage and Co-Curate project pages, which summarize Marguerite d'Anjou's failed attempt on the Northumbrian castles and the surrender of c. 400 troops on the island after a storm.

Holy Island now connected to the mainland. *Priv.Coll.*

HOLY ISLAND -
SHIPWRECK OF QUEEN MARGARET'S FLEET.
NOVEMBER 1462

Raid against the Île-de-Ré.

Date of faction: 25 August 1462.

Location: Off the coast of La Rochelle, Atlantic Ocean. 46°12' North; 01°25' West. France.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Edward IV York-Plantagenêt was King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) King of France. The Wars of the Roses between the Lancastrians and the Yorks were raging in England. The English and French launched deadly raids against coastal towns.

Opposing Commanders ♦The English fleet was commanded by the Admiral Earl of Kent.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦The English fleet has been estimated at very different numbers according to historians: between 70 and 200 ships, with human numbers of between 10,000 and 20,000 soldiers.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The chain of reprisals devastated the coasts of France and England to the detriment of the rural populations.

Summary of the Action: After their failure against Le Conquet, the English landed and ransomed the Isle-de-Ré for 4 days. Then Kent alias attack the Isle-d'Yeu.

Casualties & Losses ♦Unknown.

Aftermath and significance of those reprisals. These destructions demonstrates once again that when the big players fight, it is the little ones who suffer.

Source & Readings ♦**Élodie Giard,** *La mise en défense et la protection de l'île de Ré à la fin du Moyen Âge. Une affirmation de l'identité insulaire," Annales du Midi, 131/307–308 (2019), pp. 337–360. (*Best modern scholarly overview of Ré's late-medieval militarisation.) ♦**Catherine Bréjat,** *L'impact de la Guerre de Cent Ans sur l'île de Ré," Ré à la Hune, 18 June 2019 (online article).* ♦*La violence en mer et dans les ports du golfe de Gascogne à la fin du Moyen Âge: bilan et perspectives de recherche***,** in *La violence et la mer dans l'espace atlantique* **(**Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.) (maritime violence in the Aunis/Poitou area; includes a concise list of English raids on Ré (1294, 1388, 1404, 1409, 1457, **1462**, useful for situating the 1462 descent among repeated chevauchées and coastal attacks.) ♦**Michaël Augeron, Jacques Boucard & Pascal Even,** *Histoire de l'île de Ré* (La Rochelle, Le Croît Vif, modern ed.) ♦**E. Atgier,** *L'abbaye cistercienne Notre-Dame de l'île de Ré (dite des Châteliers), suivi de Les sires de Mauléon, les vicomtes de Thouars, seigneurs de l'île de Ré 1137-1555.* (La Rochelle, Rumeur des Âges, 2001). ♦Communauté de communes de l'Île de Ré**…** *Pays d'art et d'histoire***.** ♦**Abel Desjardins**, Mémoire sur la politique extérieure de Louis XI et sur ses rapports avec l'Italie," *Mémoires… Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres***,** 1re série, t. 8/2 (1874), pp. 1–36.

Raid on the Île de Ré, 25 August 1462. Low sandy Atlantic island with salt-marshes and dunes, in the centre the Cistercian abbey of Les Châteliers in flames, roof collapsing, smoke blown inland. In the foreground, English (Yorkist) men-at-arms and archers landing from small boats, wading ashore with shields and long-bows, some leading armoured horses. Behind them, a cluster of cogs and caravels at anchor off Rivedoux under cross of St George banners. To the right, the villages of La Flotte and Sainte-Marie with thatched houses, fleeing peasants and carts being looted. *Priv-Coll.*

Raid on the Isle d'Yeu.

Date of the Engagement: 30 August 1462.

Location: Atlantic island located at 46°42' North latitude and 02°20' West longitude.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Louis XI (de Valois) the King of France. Richard of York [white rose on arms] claimed the throne from his cousin Henry VI of Lancaster. The King of France supported the English Lancastrian [Tudor] party; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The French and English launched deadly harassment raids against coastal towns.

Opposing Commanders ♦The English fleet was commanded by the Admiral-Earl of Kent[179].

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: The number of ships engaged has been estimated at very different numbers according to

[179] *William Neville* was the 1st Earl of Kent and also served as a military commander. However there's no specific record of him holding the title of "Admiral".

historians: between 70 and 200 ships. As for the human numbers, they numbered between 10,000 and 20,000 soldiers.

Summary of the Action: After their failure against Le Conquet, the English landed and ransomed the island of Yeu (île d'Yeu) for four days. Then William Neville returned to England to lay up as French ships closed the Gironde, and 24 Breton ships were stationed at La Rochelle.

Casualties & Losses ♦Many French civilians were killed.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat: It was the incessant chain of reprisals that stirred up more hatred among the common people than inconvenience among the powerful and the politicians.

Source & Readings ♦*Chroniques de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. Godefroy (Paris, 1863–64). ♦*Chroniques de Jean Chartier*, in *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises*.(perspective on English incursions along the Atlantic façade under Edward IV's allies.) ♦*Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner. (English political-military movements in 1462 during the Yorkist consolidation of power.) ♦A. Vallet de Viriville, **Histoire de Charles VII** (Paris, 1863). ♦**P. Contamine**, *La guerre au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003). (French coastal defense). ♦**J. Favier,** *La Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1980). ♦**M. Keen**, *English Military Identity in the Late Middle Ages.* **(**Yorkist raiding forces and their deployment in 1461–63.) ♦**A. A. Ruddock**, *Italian Merchants and English Raiders, 1450–1470* — Describes English raiding patterns in the Channel. ♦***Abbé Aillery***, *Histoire de l'île d'Yeu* (Nantes, early 20th c.). (medieval raids including the 1462 English incursion.)

Coup-de-main on the Isle d'Yeu. Priv.Coll.

Capture of Fort Inch-Keith

Date of the Engagement: June 1549.

Location: A fort built on an islet, in front of the port of Leith. Geographical coordinates: 55° 59' north latitude, and 03° 10' west longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England have been officially at peace since June 17, 1546.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henri II (de Valois) the King of France. The Regent of Scotland, the French Marie de Guise, mother of Mary Stuart, had appealed to France, which had sent a fleet in June 1548.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: General Montalembert d'Essé[180]; Michel de Seure commanded the French galleys. ♦The commander of the *English garrison* was named Cotton.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦The English garrison numbered 800 men. ♦The French troops landed were 700 men.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The fort or simple defensive work was erected on a steep islet, the island of Inch-Keith.

[180] *André de Montalembert, seigneur d'Essé* (1483–1553) was a 16th-century French soldier who served during the reigns of Francis I and Henry II. He was the lieutenant-general of the French armies in Scotland, where he played a key role in the Treaty of Haddington in 1548 and fought in the *Rough Wooing War*. The idea of the war as a "wooing" was popularized many years later by Sir Walter Scott, to hide the extreme nature of hatred of the war.

Precipices surrounded the fort on three sides. The galleys attacked from the rear in order to draw part of the garrison to the north while French barges attacked from the front and disembarked the landing Corps. The situation of Inch-Keith is to be compared to that of the *Diamond Rock*, off the coast of Martinique[181].

Summary of the action: After the failure of May 1549 to capture Leith, the English had built a fort on a steep islet, the island of Inch-Keith, which was surrounded on three sides by precipices. A strong English garrison of 800 men was left there to watch over Leith and Edinburgh. The English fleet withdrew near Berwick-upon-Tweed. Before handing over his command to Paul de Thermes, the French commander-in-chief of the garrison of Leith, Montalembert d'Essé wanted to cover himself with glory. Colonel de La Chapelle-Biron, who was in charge of reconnoitering the islet, set out on Villegagnon's galley and approached within arquebus range in order to study the topography of the island and to assess its garrison. Shortly afterwards, French galleys commanded by Michel de Seure, described a turning movement to bypass the English and move to their rear. Meanwhile, small troop transports sailed out of Leith and headed straight for the English Isle. The 700 men of the French landing companies, commanded by Montalembert d'Essé, seized the shore, covered by artillery fire from the galleys. The English garrison, 800 strong, descended on the beach to repel the landing and annihilate the French beachhead; but, after a violent fight, it was driven back foot by foot to the summit of the mountain.

[181] Diamond Rock, Rocher du Diamant, Siege, 31 May - 3 August 1805. See *Combats franco-anglais des Guerres du Premier-Empire*, ISBN 978-2-921668-21-7 by Jean-Claude Castex, p.419-421.

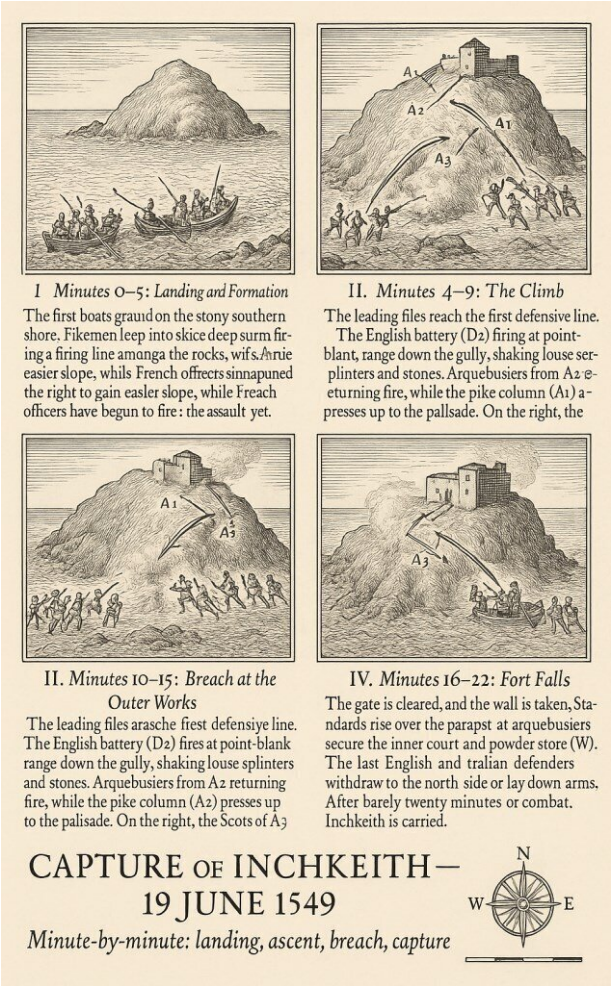
The English captain named Cotton was in the street, which threw panic among his soldiers. they let go of their footing and took refuge on a rocky point where they capitulated.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat, the survivors of the 800 English were taken prisoner. They abandoned to the French 18 large pieces of artillery, 7 flags, a large quantity of ammunition, "a large *hurk* loaded with malvasia"[182], mattresses and sheets intended to supply the fort. Immediately after this attack, Montalembert embarked [in July] for France, leaving the command of the French Expeditionary Corps in Scotland to Paul de Thermes.

Source & Readings ♦*History of the Campaigns of 1548 and 1549, being an Exact Account of the Martial Expeditions performed in those times by the Scots and French on the one side, and the English and their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other*, by Monsieur Beague, printed at Paris in 1556, and translated by Dr. Patrick Abercrombie, author of the Martial Achievements of the Scottish Nation, in 1707; Campbell's History of I.eith ; Lindsay's (of Pitscottie) History. ♦**Jean de Beaugué**, *Histoire de la guerre d'Écosse* (c. 1556). Classic French narrative of the Rough Wooing, including André de Montalembert (sieur d'Essé)'s capture of Inch-keith and details of the assault on the English garrison. ♦**Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots**, vol. 1 (1547–1563), ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1898). (English diplomatic and military reports on operations in the Firth of Forth and references to the loss of Inch-keith

[182] Malvasia wine. Malvasia comes from Malvasia, a city in Greece that produced this type of wine. The Malvasia grape variety is now used around the Mediterranean. In France, the word *muscat* tends to replace its synonym *malvasia*. The word "hurk" means "a large, old ship". This spelling — *hurk* — appears in Middle English or Early Modern English texts (15th–17th centuries), reflecting older orthography before "hulk" became standard.

in June 1549 and subsequent fortification works.) ♦**Register of the Privy Council of Scotland**, vol.1, ed. John Hill Burton (Edinburgh, 1877). Includes the order of 22 June 1549 for musters and labour to strengthen the fortifications on Inchkeith after its recovery by the Franco-Scottish forces. ♦**Marcus Merriman**, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), esp. pp. 221–229. Synthesis of the 1549 campaign in the Forth and the capture of Inchkeith (19 June 1549).



♦**Inchkeith"**, in *Historic Environment Scotland* scheduled monument record SM3838 (Inchkeith Island and fortifications). ♦**Capture of Inchkeith, 1549**, in *Historical Tales of the Wars of Scotland and of the Border* (19th-c. narrative; available via Electric Scotland PDF). Colourful retelling of d'Essé's landing and the fighting on the summit.

Siege of Leith

Date of faction: 5 May 1544.

Location: Port of Edinburgh, Scotland. Today a district of the 1st agglomeration. Geographical coordinates: 55° 59' North latitude, and 03° 10' West longitude.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V[183]. French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I (de Valois) the King of France. France was at war with Emperor Charles V. On November 24, 1521, Henry VIII of England and Emperor Charles V had signed a secret treaty of coalition against France. On May 29, 1522, Henry VIII of England had declared war on France because, on the one hand, he still harbored dreams of reconquering Normandy and Guyenne lost a century earlier to Tissue in the Hundred Years' War, and, on the other hand, he wanted to crack down on Francis I of France who was helping Scotland in its war of independence against England. The Treaty of Rouen of 26 August 1517 between France and Scotland obliged France to provide soldiers to that country. Convoys between France and Scotland were therefore subject to attacks and interception attempts by English squadrons. In 1542, Mary Stuart

[183] A war that lasted thirty years. Charles V (or V) born in Flanders, was emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and king of Spain, that is to say, sovereign of the Spanish Empire in America and elsewhere.

had become Queen of Scots by the death of her father, James V. Most scholarship treats this as part of the *Burning of Edinburgh and Hertford's 1544 campaign* in the *Rough Wooing* rather than as a separate formal siege of Leith.

Opposing Troops engaged: Unknown number of recruits ♦.

Summary of the Action: In January 1544, the troops of a French convoy sent as reinforcements to Scotland mutinied at sea and had to be brought back to France. The English admiral John Dudley took advantage of this circumstance to attack Leith on May 5, 1544. He entered the Forth. The SALAMANDER, The UNICORNE[184] [two ships which Francis I of France had placed at Mary's disposal], as well as the port and lower town of Edinburgh fell into the hands of the English. But the latter were unable to seize the castle, which, by its resistance, saved the fortunes of independent Scotland.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The resistance of the castle saved, for a time at least, the independence of Scotland.

Source & Readings: ♦**Marcus H. Merriman,** *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000). (detailed narrative of Hertford's 1544 expedition, landing at Leith). ♦*The Late Expedition in Scotland, 1544***,** in *An English Garner: Tudor Tracts, 1532–1584* (ed. William P. M. Kennedy.) (Hertford's raid; landing from some 200 ships, assault on Leith's earthworks, and burning and looting.) ♦*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland***, vol. 8** (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1908). (Scottish financial records for 1543–1546, including payments for emergency defenses, entrenchments and artillery in 1544.) ♦**J. Lawson,** *Conservation and Change on Edinburgh's Defenses, Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports* 12 (2003). (the

[184] Ancient name of the unicorn, still in use in English.

1544 invasion within the development of artillery fortifications.) ♦**Andy Arthur**, *The thread about the Walls and Siege of Leith," Threadinburgh (local-history blog, 2019).* (Leith's 16th-century fortifications and 1544 Hertford raid.) ♦**Burning of Edinburgh (1544)**, various encyclopedic and popular summaries (e.g. Wikipedia; Military Wiki; ScottishHistory.org).

Attack on Leith, Port of Edinburgh

Date of faction: August 10, 1548.

Location: Port of Edinburgh. Leith is located at the mouth of the Water-of-Leith waterway, which bathes the city of Edinburgh, a little inland. Leith Guidelines: 55°59' N; 03°10' W. Its geographical location is similar to that of Piraeus in relation to Athens.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henry II (de Valois) the King of France. The Regent of Scotland, the French Marie de Guise, had launched an appeal to France, which sent a fleet. When this squadron of 140 sail arrived in June, 1548, the English fleet[185], which supported Lord Grey's operations, remained under the shelter of Holy Island. On the 17th of June, the French squadron landed its troops without opposition in the roadstead of Leith, the port of Edinburgh. Having received reinforcements from London in August[186], British Vice-Admiral Clinton switched from the defensive to the offensive.

Opposing Commanders ♦Vice Admiral Clinton.

[185] Vice Admiral Clinton.
[186] A new squadron commanded by Admiral Thomas Seymour.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This attempt to get his hands on Leith ended in failure; it was only a simple cannon fight accompanied by intermittent fusillades.

Summary of the Action: With 42 warships, Vice Admiral Clinton decided to take advantage of the absence of the French squadron, which had just left, to seize Leith, the port of Edinburgh, which served as a base for the French Expeditionary Force. The English fleet therefore entered the harbor unexpectedly, cannonading with all its artillery. It set fire to a dozen French and Scottish transports, at anchor in the port, as well as a large terreneuvier[187] of 250 tons from La Rochelle. On the other hand, a galley in the harbor began an intense artillery battle with the English ships and managed to repel several assaults. The French ship even succeeded, although badly damaged, in breaking through the English lines and leaving the port.

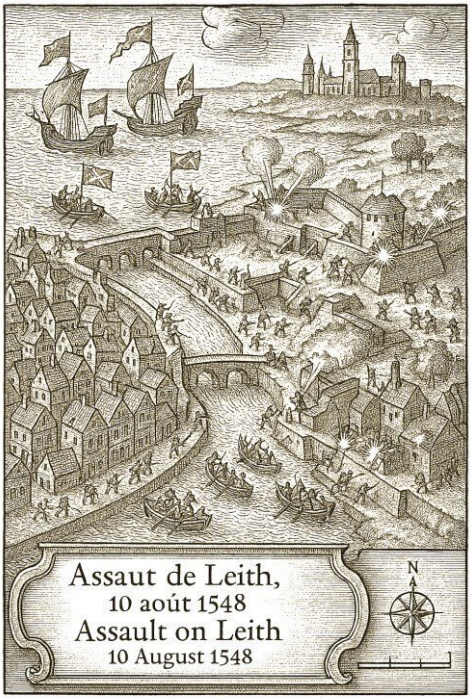
Casualties & Losses. ♦All English attempts to land were repulsed with significant but unknown losses.

Aftermath and Significance of this British failure, Vice-Admiral Clinton decided to attempt a landing at Montrose, located further north.

Source & Readings: ♦*The Late Expedition in Scotland made by the King's Highness' Army under the Conduct of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hertford, 1544.* London: Reynold Wolfe, 1544. (landing at Granton, seizure of Leith, and subsequent burning/loot.) ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, vol. 19 part 1 (1544).* London: HMSO. ♦*Hamilton Papers***,** vol. 2. Ed. Joseph Bain. Edinburgh: General Register House, 1890–92. ♦*Calendar of State*

[187] Terreneuvier: A very large fishing boat like in Newfoundland.

Papers Relating to Scotland, vol. 1 (1544 material). Edinburgh/Glasgow: HMSO. ♦**John Knox,** *The Works of John Knox*, vol. 1 (History of the Reformation, Books I–II). Ed. David Laing. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846. ♦**Claude Nau**, *History of Mary Stuart* (19th-c. edition). Ed. Joseph Stevenson. Edinburgh, 1883. ♦**Marcus Merriman,** *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551.* East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. (on the war; chapter on Hertford's 1544 expedition gives the fullest strategic and operational reading of Leith's capture/burning.) ♦**Michael Lynch,** *Edinburgh and the Reformation.* Edinburgh University Press, 1981. ♦**Gordon Donaldson,** *Scotland: James V–James VII.* Edinburgh University Press, 1965. (Auld Alliance.) ♦***Burning of Edinburgh (1544)***, reference overview with source pointers. ♦**Threadinburgh** *(Marian walls / Leith fortifications) background essays.* **(**Not a monograph, but a strong, well-illustrated archaeological/topographical companion for understanding Leith's defenses pre- and post-1544.)



Siege of Leith.

Date of the Engagement : Early May 1549.

Location: Port of Edinburgh. Leith is located at the mouth of the *Water of Leith* waterway, which bathes the city of Edinburgh, a little inland. Leith coordinates: 55°59'Nord; 03°10' West

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was also momentarily stopped.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henry II (de Valois) the King of France. The Regent of Scotland, the French Marie de Guise[188], had appealed to France, which had sent a fleet in June 1548. By a surprise attack, the English fleet tried to dislodge the French from Leith-Edinburgh.

Opposing Commanders ♦The commander of the French Expeditionary Corps was still Montalembert d'Esse at the time of these events.

Opposing Troops engaged. ♦The French Expeditionary Force in Scotland was limited to two regiments totaling about 4,500 men[189]

[188] Former wife of the late King of Scotland James V
[189] Including 1,500 German mercenaries.

who had to defend three sensitive points: Leith, Dundee and the Isle of Colm.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Here's the key thing up front: there **wasn't a distinct "siege of Leith" in May 1549** in the way there was in **1560**. What happens in 1548–49 is the **French occupation and rapid fortification of Leith** under André de Montalembert, sieur d'Essé, using Leith as their main base against the English during the Rough Wooing; the major siege operations of 1549 were aimed at **Haddington, Broughty Craig, and Inchkeith**, not a besieging of Leith itself. Leith, port of Edinburgh, was the headquarters of the French Expeditionary Force. Colm's Island at the head of the *Gulf of Forth* [190]and the town of Dundee on the Tay were the two outposts. The attack was in fact a banal exchange of cannon fire.

Summary of the Action: But the six ships of the English vanguard, in charge of opening the bombardment, had their guns too close to the water, and their sights too low to reach the city. A French battery of three guns soon repulsed the English attack. Four French galleys and about sixty fishing boats armed at war remained in tactical reserve but did not have to intervene. Then the English resigned themselves to a blockade. Opposite Leith emerged a steep islet called Inch-Keith. In less than 15 days, they built a fort on its summit surrounded by precipices on 3 sides. A strong English garrison was set up there, and then the Royal Navy withdrew to the Berwick-upon-Tweed area.

[190] Gulf of Forth = *Firth of Forth*, the estuary of the River Forth in Scotland, which flows into the North Sea.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and Significance of this English defeat, the British retreated, but not without leaving a garrison on the islet of Inch-Keith, on which they had built a fort.

Source & Readings ♦**Jean de Beaugué**, *L'Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse, pendant les campagnes 1548 et 1549* (Paris, 1556). [Best narrative eyewitness for the French arrival, building of works at Leith, and 1549 campaigning. Eng. trans. by Patrick Abercromby as below.] ♦**Patrick Abercromby (trans.)**, *The History of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549* (Edinburgh, 1707). [Standard English access to Beaugué; repeatedly cited for Leith fortification and French command decisions.] ♦**Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1563**, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1898), vol. 1. [English/Scottish diplomatic and military dispatches referencing Leith as the French lodgement.] ♦**Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Edward VI**, ed. W. B. Turnbull (London, 1861). [Useful for English intelligence on French troops at Leith.] ♦**Sir James Balfour**, *Annals of Scotland* (17th-c. compilation; many editions). [Gives Scottish perspective on the French presence and works at Leith.] ♦**Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie**, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (16th c.; later eds.). [Narrative color on the Rough Wooing years including French arrival at Leith.] ♦**Sir David Lindsay**, poems on the French coming to Leith and the war context (in *Works of Sir David Lindsay*, various eds.). ♦**Marcus Merriman**, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton, 2000). [The best single modern study; clear on Leith as French strategic base.] ♦**Gervase Phillips**, *The Anglo-Scots Wars, 1513–1550* (Boydell, 1999). [Strong military analysis of 1548–49 operations and logistics through Leith.] ♦**Michael Lynch**, *Scotland: A New History* (1992; later eds.). [Concise overview situating the French lodgement at Leith within the Rough Wooing settlement.] ♦**Capture of Inchkeith (1549)**" [Though focused on Inchkeith, it preserves a detailed summary of d'Essé *fortifying Leith in 1549* and is a handy digest of older scholarship.] ♦**Haddington's History Society**, reports on French/Scottish siege engineering 1548–49, with Leith as supply hub. (haddingtonshistory.org.uk) ♦**Threadinburgh (2022)**, on the alignment/legacy of Leith's 16th-c. walls; mainly later (1560), but helpful for understanding the fortification tradition

begun under d'Essé. (Threadinburgh). ♦**Stuart Reid**, *The Siege of Leith 1560* (Osprey Campaign series). [Clear tactical narrative and diagrams.] ♦**Jenny Wormald** or **Michael Lynch** on the Reformation crisis and French garrisoning. (Wikipedia)

Leith, May 1549, during the Rough Wooing: the port shown as a dense medieval town beside the Firth of Forth, while French troops under d'Essé throw up fresh earth-and-timber bastioned ramparts. Bird's-eye view: new angular earthworks encircle the burgh, with gun platforms and palisades; French engineers in morions and doublets stake out trenches, carts of fascines and gabions arriving from the quay. In the harbour, French galleys and Scottish ships ride at anchor, fleurs-de-lis and Scottish lions snapping in the wind; barrels of powder and cannon being unloaded. To the south-west, the skyline of Edinburgh and the rock of the Castle faint in the distance. Fine engraved hatching for sea and sky, sharp line-work, no grey wash, only black ink on white paper.

Naval combat of Leith.

Date of action: Early July 1549.

Location: Leith is located at the mouth of the estuary called Water of Leith, which bathes the city of Edinburgh, a little inland. Leith coordinates: 55°59' North; 03° 10' West.

Conflict: Edward VI was the King of England. Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546.

Historical Background: Henri II (de Valois) was the King of France and Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. During the winter of 1549, the English fleet stayed in the Gulf of Morbihan in order to thwart the junction of two French squadrons, that of the galleys[191] and that of the large warships[192]. Together they were to convey reinforcements to the French Expeditionary Corps which was fighting in Scotland to help that country resist England's annexationist intentions. The English fleet took advantage of its stay on the coast of France to burn down some small coastal villages in Brittany: Locmariaker, 20km from Vannes..., and to sack the isles of Houat and Haëdic.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: cannon combat.

[191] From Nantes, where the ***Clos des Galées*** or Port fermé des Galères was located.
[192] Based in Brest.

Summary of the Action: At the beginning of July 1549, Montalembert d'Esse left Scotland after having handed over the command of the French Expeditionary Corps to his successor, Paul de Thermes. The flotilla of 4 galleys left Leith, the port of Edinburgh, but was soon surrounded by the much outnumbering English fleet seeking to intercept it. A fierce fight ensued. The galleys were in danger of succumbing to numbers, when, in the heat of battle, the powder magazine of a large English roberge[193] was blown up, throwing their line into disorder. The four French galleys were then able to continue their journey and reach Dieppe after nine days of crossing.

Casualties& Losses ♦Casualties are unknown on both sides but English casualties seem to have been much heavier since one of their ships was blown up.

Aftermath and Significance of this English failure, the former head of the French Expeditionary Corps in Scotland managed to slip through the blockade lines.

[193] *A roberge was a type of round English warship built around 1550.* It was fast and maneuverable thanks to its twenty-six long oars, which made it more agile than other ships of the time.

Source & Readings ♦**Jean de Beaugué**, *Histoire de la guerre d'Écosse pendant les campagnes 1548 et 1549* (16th-c. eyewitness French narrative; Maitland Club edn., 1830; Eng. trans. [*History of the Campaigns of 1548 and 1549*). Best continuous account of French troop landings, galley movements, and fighting around the Forth/Leith in 1549. (Wikipedia)] ♦**Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, vol. 1 (1547–1563)**, ed. Joseph Bain (1898). [English and Scottish governmental dispatches on fleets, coastal alarms, and the French naval presence in the Forth in mid-1549. (Wikipedia)] ♦**Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Edward VI** (1547–1553), ed. W.B. Turnbull (1861), and **State Papers of Edward VI**. [Includes English naval orders and intelligence on French galleys and Leith Roads in summer 1549. (Wikipedia)] ♦**John Knox**, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Book I–II; written later but uses contemporary testimony). [Describes fleets anchoring in **the Road of Leith** and naval salutes/encounters during the 1549 operations. (Christian Classics Ethereal Library)]. ♦**Marcus Merriman**, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (Tuckwell, 2000). Standard modern study; discusses the 1549 French reinforcement voyage, the strategic use of Leith Roads, and related sea fighting in the Forth. (Wikipedia) ♦**E.R. Adair**, "English Galleys in the Sixteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 6 (1920). Technical and operational background on English oared vessels used in northern waters and in expeditions connected to Leith/Forth operations. (JSTOR) ♦**David Caldwell, Vicky Oleksy & Bess Rhodes**, *The Battle of Pinkie, 1547* (Oxbow, 2023). [Not about Leith alone, but the clearest recent synthesis of Rough Wooing campaigning, including the naval dimension in the Forth theatre leading into 1549.]

Naval combat off Leith (Leith Roads), July 1549, **during the Rough Wooing. Bird's-eye view over the Firth of Forth: the low shoreline and medieval quays of Leith at left, smoke curling from shore batteries. In the centre, a tight melee of** French galleys and Scottish ships **with lateen sails and oars driving, ramming and boarding** English pinnaces and small warships**; cannon flashes, splintered yards, men in morions and puffed jerkins fighting on crowded decks. The sea rendered with fine hatching and swirling wake lines; floating barrels, broken spars, and a few drowning figures. In the distance**

to the east, the rocky isle of Inchkeith **with a newly seized fort silhouette; beyond it the faint skyline of Edinburgh and the Castle on its crag. Priv.**Coll.

LEITH
Pier

Siege of Leith.

Date of the Engagement: October 1559 - 16 July 1560.

Location: Port of Edinburgh, Scotland, 55º59' North, 03°10' West.

Conflict: War between England and Scotland supported by the French; a.k.a. the *War of the Congregation*. The War of the Congregation was the decisive conflict in which Scottish Protestant reformers, backed by England, overthrew the Catholic regency and secured the Reformation in Scotland (1559–1560).

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Francis II de Valois the King of France. In Scotland, a French Expeditionary Force of 4,000 men fought alongside the Scots against England's annexationist ambitions. But religion began to do what brute force had not been able to achieve: the partial conquest of the minds of the Lowland Scots by the English. This siege of Leith was a first. It was almost the first time that English and Scottish Lowlanders[194] fought side by side against the Catholic Franco-Scots, Catholic partisans of the Regent of Scotland, Marie de Guise and Lorraine[195]. Mary Stuart had previously been Queen of France. The replacement of Scottish Catholic lords

[194] United by Protestantism. In reality the Scottish Protestants were Bresbyterians and the English were Anglicans, and as soon as the common enemy, the Catholics, was eliminated, the Anglicans turned their persecutions against the Presbyterians.
[195] Regent of Scotland in the name of her daughter Mary Stuart from the death in 1542 of her husband James V, and until 1560.

by Anglo-Protestant nobles, and the conversion of other Scottish lords[196] to the Presbyterian Church, began to change alliances in the Lowlands; the Highlands would be much tougher.[197] Many other local nobles followed for fear of being dispossessed of their lands and property for the benefit of collaborating Anglo-Protestants. But the Scottish people, who had nothing to lose, still remained fundamentally Catholic[198]. The whole of the new generation of lords formed the Council of Protestant Lords which suspended the Regent. But it was not enough to decide; it was still necessary to reduce Leith, the fortified port of Edinburgh, defended by the French Expeditionary Force. In a hurry to come to the aid of the regent, his sister, René de Guise et de Lorraine, marquis d'Elbeuf, set sail in December 1559 with eight troop transports; but Guise was unlucky; his cavalry and guard landed in shipwrecks on the English coast. The storm drove René de Lorraine with 160 men onto the French coast. Only the two ships of Sebastian de Luxembourg, Viscount of Martigues, managed to reach Scotland. Seventeen English ships under Admiral Winter had put to sea at the same time as the Marquis d'Elbeuf, both to intercept him and to reinforce the siege of Leith. The English squadron narrowly escaped the storm, as well as a coup de main from the French captain Trefforest, who had planned to destroy them in the Thames.

[196] Desiring to preserve their property.

[197] And the English would come to an atrocious extremity in the Highlands: outright ethnic cleansing, which took place during the Wars of the Revolution and the Empire, when the French had their hands tied in Europe. The entire population of the Highlands was expelled, and the villages burned and replaced by pasture for the Cheviot sheep, [see the Ethnic cleansing in Scotland section]

[198] Culloden, the final massacre, was not until two centuries later.

Opposing Commanders ♦Sébastien de Luxembourg, Viscount of Martigues, commanded the French Expeditionary Corps in Scotland, or at least what was left of it. ♦The British relief army was led by Lord Grey of Wilton[199] , who took the general command of the operations of the siege. Admiral Winter commanded the English fleet. The Scottish Protestant units were led by a French Huguenot gentleman, Monsieur de Chatellerault.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦The British fleet consisted of 18 warships. The Anglo-Scottish army besieging Leith totaled between 12,000 and 15,000 men. The British army of reinforcement gathered about 8,000 men, including 1,500 cavalries. New reinforcements arrived every day, and the Anglo-Scots reached, at the end of the siege, an undetermined number, probably quite close to 30,000 men. ♦The French army numbered 4,000 men. Other French reinforcements were dispersed by a violent storm on the coasts of the Nederland and the North Sea. The number of Catholic Scots fighting on the side of the French was now quite small: perhaps a thousand men.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: On 30 July 1559, French troops began to reinforce the fortifications of Links of Leith, built 10 years earlier by the Frenchmen Montalembert d'Essé and d'Epainvilliers. Offshore, a French garrison occupied the fortified islet of Ich-Keith, taken from the English some time before. The fortifications of Leith consisted of thick ramparts reinforced by 8 large bastions. Towards Edinburgh and the West, this work extended over about five kilometers. The bastions, the first of which

[199] Sir William, adorned with the flattering title of Guardian of the Eastern and Central Markets of England.

had been named *Fort-de-Ramesay*, covered the port. they were all angular and well built. The French had also occupied the Tower of Saint-Antoine in which they had hoisted and posted artillery. Fire-arm was used. The armor no longer went below the belt, and the metal plates became thicker to resist guns. For psychological purposes, the French piled up English dead bodies on the glacis. In fact, that interminable campaign to save Scotland was a kind of fifteenth century Vietnam; the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Communist slogans were of course replaced by anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant ones. This marginal war had become so unpopular in Normandy and Brittany, that the war effort was carried out reluctantly, so that reinforcements arrived badly. In Scotland, French soldiers were sometimes frostily received by the population, who were too poor to provide them with food and lodging[200].

Summary of the action: In October 1559, Leith was blockaded. *The Anglo-Protestant Council of Lords*, created under the aegis of England, sent the French an ultimatum to leave the city within twelve hours, to which the French did not even respond, knowing that the new local "nobility" did not represent the Scottish people but the new Protestant elite. The Anglo-Protestants therefore

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[200] It was comparable to French Indochina 1946-1954 where the parachutes of the French army soldiers were secretly sabotaged in France by the French Communist Party on direct orders from Moscow. Many French soldiers fighting in Vietnam, crashed because their parachutes had been sabotaged. In Vietnam, too, 1955-1975: It is estimated that there were between 30,000 and 100,000 draft dodgers, draft evaders, and deserters who fled the United States to live peacefully in Canada. Otherwise, during these two wars (the Anglo-Scottish religious war and the Vietnam War), both sides demonized and evilized each other (the Evil Empire, etc.). Here's a summary of *the key nicknames and ideological labels* used before and during the Vietnam War: Imperialist camp, The Capitalist Hydra, Warmongers, Aggressors, Enemies of Peace, World Imperialism, The Yankee Imperialists, The Rotten West, The Decadent West, The Empire of Lies.------ *Evil Empire*, The Red Menace, The Iron Curtain, Godless Communism, The Slave Empire, The Empire of Fear, Communist Hydra, Red Empire

attacked, they launched an assault on the walls; but the attack, badly prepared, failed. It seems that some of the ladders weren't even long enough... As a result, many of the attackers were killed by the French. In early April 1560, an English army arrived as reinforcements. It immediately launched an assault, which was repulsed with heavy losses. The English had established one of their camps in the villages of Restalrig, Hawkhill and Hermitage, where between 2,000 and 12,000 men were permanently stationed. During a truce, French soldiers had gathered near these camps. A quarrel led to a shot being fired and the English fired a volley. The French retaliated, throwing the English camp into disorder. In the confusion of the ensuing battle, the English suffered casualties of 600 and the French 140. The British command then decided to open the trench and erect fortified hills or elevations nicknamed Mount Pelham, 400 meters southeast of the ramparts, Mount Somerset, 200 meters, and Mount Falcon 80 meters S.E. of St. Ninian's Church. Artillery batteries were erected on the summits of these hills. The Royal Navy, for its part, blocked the seafront. As for the French, they made incessant sorties to counterattack and delay the earthworks. On 4 May, the English launched a general assault on four sides simultaneously, in order to play on the weakness of the French forces, which could hardly defend all the ramparts. On one side, 2,000 English soldiers and 500 Scottish [Protestant] arquebusiers attacked. On another façade, 2,240 English soldiers assaulted. Another [English] assault took place in front of Mount Pelham and another [by Protestant Scots] on the seaside. In addition to these four combined assaults, 2,400 British soldiers reinforced by 500 sailors, provided by the Royal Navy, were kept in Tactical Reserve to deliver the *coup de grace* to the French. This general

attack began at 07:00 in the morning. It all started well, until the French counterattacked, pursuing the English troops into their entrenchments. It was a bloody failure for the English, who not only did not take the city, but, to their great embarrassment, were driven from their own entrenchments. The violent French counterattack even captured part of the English siege artillery, which was immediately nailed[201] by the French. The disaster was complete. English casualties amounted to 600 killed and a multitude wounded. Queen Elizabeth of England[202] continually sent reinforcements but the losses were heavy every day. Discouragement overcame the besieging army, all the more so because, for psychological purpose (spread defeatist spirit), the French piled up almost naked English corpses on the glacis of the fortifications and defensive works facing Lord Grey's camp. These piles of bodies could be seen from Edinburgh where the Regent Marie de Guise was dying. The latter breathed her last on June 1st. In July, a French captain, named Jean de Vignau, succeeded in breaking through the English blockade cruise with 20 sailors from Le Havre to supply the Franco-Scottish garrison at Leith with logistical equipment, powder and cannonballs. But, if munitions of war arrived, those of the mouth were extremely rare. Famine was severe. The French even ate the horses of their precious cavalry. Soon they had no more cavalry worthy of

[201] That is to say, sabotaged. A nail was driven with a hammer into the small "light," a hole through which the artillerymen set fire to the powder.

[202] Eilzabeth I in the Tudor era. The Royal House of Tudor gave 5 sovereigns to England, from 1485 to 1603: Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Eilsabeth, the last. The dynasty traced back to Owen Tudor who married Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. Their son Edmund Tudor married Margaret of Beaufort, the last representative of the House of Somerset who was descended from John of Gaunt, 3rd son of Edward III.

the name. But the negotiations led to a tripartite peace treaty at that time[203].

Casualties & Losses ♦About 300 killed on the Franco-Scottish side. Probably much more. ♦2,000 on the English side.

Aftermath and Significance of this Franco-Scottish defeat: Mary did not see the fall of Leith; she died in Edinburgh Castle on 10 June, exhausted by illness and the despair of seeing her country fall inexorably under the boot of England. By the Treaty of Edinburgh, a tripartite treaty [Scotland, England, France] of 1560, attached to the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559, Scotland, whose elites were now Protestant Presbyterians [204], renounced its

[203] See the Aftermath and Significance Section.

[204] This made it possible to begin a religious cleansing [which lasted more than two and a half centuries] of the Scottish population by the action of the new lords. The new Scottish Presbyterian Church forbade Catholic practices, under penalty of rigorous penalties that could go as far as capital punishment. The property of the old Catholic clergy, at least that which the Scottish lords had not taken possession of, was assigned to the service of the new religion. But the victory of Protestantism was not going to solve the problem. War was about to break out between Protestant sects. The Catholic Church destroyed by the Presbyterians with the help of England, it was then sufficient for the English to make the Presbyterian Church disappear and replace it with the Anglican Church to standardize the kingdom. This is what Charles I of England tried to do shortly afterwards. He imposed Anglican clergymen on Scotland, but they were driven out by the Scottish princes of the Lowlands, who formed an Alliance or Covenant [1637]. The English king had to give in and signed the Peace of Berwick in 1639, but with the firm intention of forcing the Scots by force. He therefore summoned the Parliament in order to obtain the necessary subsidies for undertaking the war. But the Parliament refused all subsidies until the grievances of the nation were upheld. It was dissolved immediately, which gave it the nickname of the court Parliament [1640]... At the end of this long period of intolerance, the villages of the Highlands were systematically burned and the native population forced to emigrate [late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries]. Similarly, Ireland later suffered the same fate. It was subdivided into electoral constituencies which were allocated to Protestant lords mainly from England, but also from the Netherlands and even France [the Huguenot Ruvigny who became Earl of Galway]. Thus the native Catholic population, whose civil rights were suppressed by the Test Act [or Abjuration Oath], was crowned with Protestant colonial cadres who alone obtained the right to be elected. These blackfoot aristocrats

traditional ally [France] and became an English protectorate. Only the Highlands resisted until their final destruction at the beginning of the 19th century. According to the clauses of the Treaty of Edinburgh, French troops would be repatriated by the English fleet and at England's expense "*with the Honours of War, arms and baggage*". In addition, on the day of the departure of the French, the English would also have to evacuate Scotland and return to England. On July 16, 1560, the French Expeditionary Corps of Scotland embarked with weapons, baggage and... A huge loot collected throughout the campaign. For during the siege, the French troops of General d'Oisel had ravaged the Fife peninsula and destroyed the properties of the Anglo-Protestant "colonist or *pied-noir*" lords[205]. An English army[206] had followed the French at a distance, but without attacking them, contenting itself with surprising the stragglers. After having, without opposition, ravaged the region, the French had returned to their quarters in Leith. It was expressly stated in the peace treaty that one French officer and 60 soldiers

felt so alienated from the people on whom they lived, that, during the great famine of the mid-nineteenth century, which exterminated more than half of the Irish Catholic population, they not only refused to come to the aid of their constituents, but also evicted from their primitive dwellings those who could not pay their rental taxes. This was also an ethnic cleansing which seems to have been a Machiavellian plan hatched and concerted by the British Government itself, since London refused all aid to the Catholic populations who died by the tens of thousands or were forced to emigrate, while the cereals [wheat...] which never ceased to be produced in line continued to be exported to England. The "lillibulleros" [vexatious songs against Catholics] began to flourish throughout the territory.

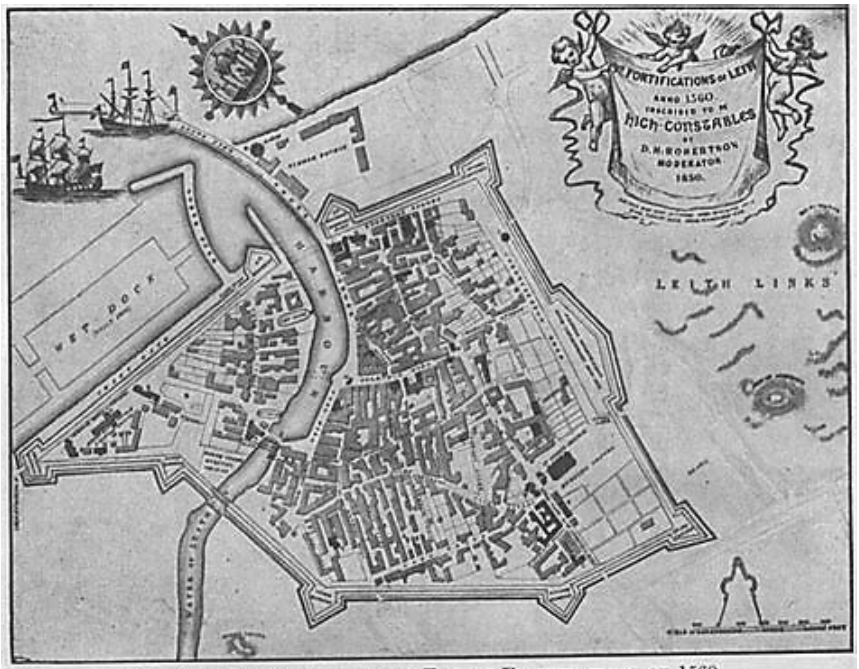
[205] The expression "pied-noir" is used in this work anachronistically to designate the Anglo-Protestant lords or settlers settled in newly conquered territory: Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Manitoba...

[206] Commanded by Sir William Kirkaldy.

were to remain in Fort Inch-Keith[207], although it is not at present possible to say why. By the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis signed in 1559 between France [Henry II], England [Elizabeth I of the Tudor era] and Spain [Philip II], England renounced for 8 years the fortress of Calais, an English city for two centuries. In fact, the French later refused to surrender the city.

Source & Readings ♦**Dickinson, Gladys (ed.)** *Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse… and the Journal of the Siege of Leith, 1560.* Scottish History Society, 1942. Critical edition/translation of a French eyewitness journal; the single best narrative source for the siege itself. ♦**Knox, John.** *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Book III covers 1559–60 and the siege). ♦**Diurnal of Occurrents,** in *The Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents… 1513–1575* (Bannatyne/Maitland Clubs).) ♦**Bain, Joseph.** *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1563,* vol. 1. Edinburgh, 1898. (Dispatches and letters on the siege.) ♦**Stevenson, Joseph.** *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I*, vols. 2–3 (1559–61). (diplomatic and military reporting on Leith and the Treaty of Edinburgh.) ♦**Ryrie, Alec.** *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation.* Manchester Univ. Press, 2006/2010. ♦**Dawson, Jane.** *Scotland Re-formed, 1488–1587.* Edinburgh Univ. Press. (the Anglo-Scottish-French triangle.) ♦**Harris, Stuart.** "The Fortifications and Siege of Leith: a further study of the map of the siege in 1560." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1992): 359–368. (reconstruction of the French works and English siege lines from the Petworth map. ♦**Pollard, Tony**. The Archaeology of the Siege of Leith, 1560. *PSAS* (2008). (evidence for batteries, trenches, and the Citadel area.) ♦**Durot, Élodie.** A Too Free Conduit? … France and Scotland, 1559–1560. *EpiSteme* (2020).

[207] The fortified islet in front of Keith, Edinburgh Harbour.



Plan of Leith, showing the French Fortifications of 1560.

Capture of Locronan

Date of the Engagement: from spring to 11 June 1590

Location: France, coasts of Brittany, fortified town at the mouth of the Blavet. The old archives sometimes call Locronan, Saint-René-du-Bois. Approximate coordinates: 47º43'N, 03°21'W.

Conflict: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was Queen of England and Henry IV de Bourbon King of France. Eighth War of Religion, 1585-1598, also called "War of the Three Henrys"[208] or "Wars of the League". English participation.

Historical Background: In France, the civil war, the Eighth War of Religion [also known as the "War of the Three Henrys", or the Wars of the League], was raging. On the ocean, the mouth of the Blavet served as a refuge for the Franco-English corsairs of the royalist [Protestant] party of Henry IV. Their point of support was the large, fortified town of Locronan. English troops had been sent to Henry IV (King of France who had not yet been crowned), by the Queen of England, Elizabeth Tudor, an ardent Protestant, in order to crush the Catholic Holy League.

[208] King Henry III of France, in the period before his assassination, Henry of Guise, leader of the League, and Henry IV of Navarre.

Strategic and Tactical considerations: An unspeakable cruelty, stemming from religious fanaticism, permeated these fights. In the name of God, all the excesses were perpetrated.

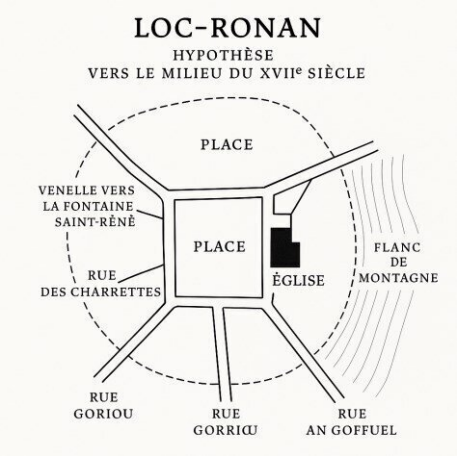
Opposing Commanders ♦It is reasonable to say that "La Fontenelle" refers to Guy Éder de La Fontenelle, a bandit who was responsible for serious destruction in Cornwall — and that it is very likely that Locronan suffered from his exactions. But the attribution of a specific event to June 11, 1590 is not confirmed by the historical sources consulted. Consequently, to say that he "ruined Locronan on June 11, 1590" is — historically — plausible but not verified: it is an interpretation, without formal proof.

Old Locronan today. Priv.Coll.

Summar y of the Action: In the spring of 1590, Brother François Mercœur, Marquis de Chausseins invested Locronan. The resistance was fierce. Women participated in the defense. On June 11, Locronan was stormed by the French Leaguers, and the besieged

(French and English), as well as the entire population[209], were put to the sword. About thirty young girls, who were fleeing on board a boat, committed suicide by drowning in order not to be captured and raped.

Probable reconstruction of the village (by AI)

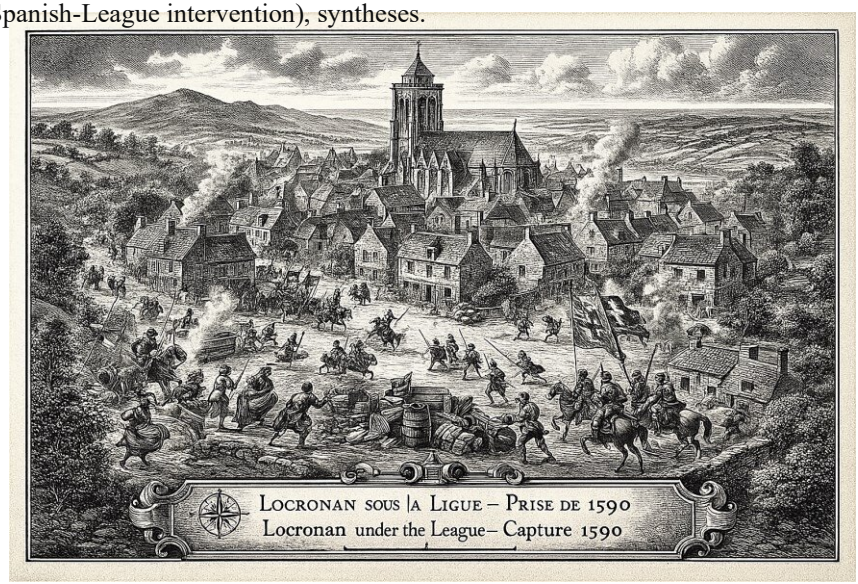


Aftermath and Significance of this Franco-English defeat, Locronan finally passed on 27 October 1590 into the hands of the Spanish general Sancho Pardo Osorio who commanded a fleet of 37 ships manned by 6,500 men on behalf of the Holy Catholic League. The latter reinforced the fortifications, and his ships immediately went to harass the Anti-League French and English cities.

Source & Readings ♦**Jean Moreau (**chanoine), *Mémoires sur les guerres de la Ligue en Bretagne*, ed. Henri Wacquet, Quimper, 1960. La Fontenelle's 1590 raids, forced levies, and violence in the Locronan–Douarnenez–Châteaulin area. ♦**Louis Moreau,** *Le Brigand de la Cornouaille: chronique bretonne sous la Ligue*, Arnauld de Vresse, 1860. Nineteenth-century narrative built on local

[209] Although the population was not entirely... Protestant; they didn't bother with such details at the time. To be compared to the Albigensian Crusade, when, in 1209, Simon de Montfort massacred the entire population of Béziers; he replied to someone who pointed out to him that some of the Biterrois were Catholics and not Cathars: "Kill them all! God will recognize his own!"

archives and oral memory; central for Locronan's ruin attributed to La Fontenelle and the 1590s turmoil. ♦**Mémoires de Locronan, "Les guerres de la Ligue" (site patrimonial). (o**verview of League conditions, Spanish-League presence in Brittany.) ♦**Marie-Claude Cloarec** et al. (eds.), studies in *La Ligue en Bretagne / Guerres de Religion en Bretagne*, Presses universitaires de Rennes (OpenEdition chapters). (bandit-captains La Magnane, Liscoët, La Fontenelle, and Cornouaille's devastation in 1589-1591. ♦Brittany Campaign, 1590–1598 (Spanish-League intervention), syntheses.



Locronan (Cornouaille, Brittany), spring to 11 June 1590, during the War of the Catholic League. Bird's-eye view of the small granite market-town of Locronan on its hillside: tight cluster of stone houses with steep slate roofs around the central square and the great church of Saint-Ronan rising above. From the surrounding bocage lanes, ligueur cavalry and foot under Guy Éder de La Fontenelle surge into town: riders in morions and buff coats, a few arquebusiers on foot, banners of the Catholic League snapping. Townspeople and linen-weavers flee with bundles; carts overturned, bolts of canvas and bales of cloth being seized. A rough barricade of barrels and carts at one street mouth, smoke from a few looted houses, but no full-scale city walls—just lanes, hedges, and low stone enclosures. In the distance: the dark ridge of the Montagnes Noires and a faint glimpse of the sea toward Douarnenez. Rendered with dense cross-hatching for shadows, fine line-work for granite textures and slate tiles, dramatic ink clouds, no grey wash, no colour.

Naval battle in the English Channel.

Date of the Engagement: July 1558.

Conflict: Anglo-French War.

Historical Background: Mary I Tudor-Plantagenêt was Queen of England and Henry II de Valois King of France. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V resumed in 1551. Northern France was invaded by an Anglo-Spanish army.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Baron de Clères[210]. ♦*English*: Unknown.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This *naval action was probably associated with the Battle of Gravelines (13 July 1558)* — a Channel-coast battle where *English ships bombarded the French flank/rear from the sea while Egmont's Spanish-Netherlandish army attacked on land* near the River mouth.

Summary of the Action: In July, Baron de Clères, who commanded 10 large warships, came upon an English division that had been separated from Admiral Clinton's fleet by a gust of wind. After a sharp fight on boarding, the French captured 9 ships where they found 150 large pieces of artillery.

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[210] Le titre de **Baron de Clères** fait référence à la seigneurie de **Clères**, une commune située dans la province de Normandie, en France. Ce titre a été porté par de nombreux individus au fil de l'histoire, membres de la puissante famille de Clères (ou de Clere), l'un des lignages nobles les plus anciens et influents de la région.

Casualties & Losses ♦Probably heavy on both sides.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: Fairly heavy losses for the Royal Navy.

Source & Readings ♦Motley, John Lothrop. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. 1–2 (1856). (chapter on de Thermes' raid and the battle at Gravelines.)♦Prescott, William H. *History of the Reign of Philip II, King of Spain*, vol. 1 (1855). (1557–59 campaign and Gravelines.) ♦Potter, David. *Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c. 1480–1560.* Boydell, 2008. ♦Oman, Charles. *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century.* 1937. Still a sharp operational account of St-Quentin → Gravelines, including the coastal/sea-fire element. ♦Rodriguez-Salgado, M. J. *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551–1559.* Cambridge, 1988. ♦Royal Collection Trust (Military Maps). View of the Battle of Gravelines, 1558. High-quality engraved battle plan/visual evidence for layout and topography.

Naval action off Gravelines, English Channel coast, 13 July 1558. Bird's-eye oblique view over the flat Flanders shoreline and the mouth of the Aa River: a pale sandy beach with low dunes and wet flats; behind the dunes, the French army of Paul de Thermes strung out beside a dense baggage train of carts and packhorses. Offshore in the Channel, several English sailing warships (Tudor great ships and pinnaces) ride at anchor in a staggered line, Cross of St George flags snapping; bright starburst cannon-flashes and thick smoke pour from their broadsides toward the French rear on the beach. Shot splashes in the surf; shattered wagons, scattered pikes, and fleeing infantry. On land to the right, the Spanish-Netherlandish cavalry and arquebusiers of Count Egmont press the attack near the dunes, shown as tight blocks with lances and arquebuses, while French cavalry tries to wheel and regroup under fire. (Priv.Coll.)

Château de Montorgueil, Jersey. Priv.Coll.

Siege of the castle of Montorgueil

Date of the Engagement: 17 May 1468.

Location: Mont-Orgueil or Montorgueil. Jersey Island, English Channel. 49°15' N; 02°03' West.

Conflict: Interference between the Civil War of the Roses, England, 1455–1485, and the Civil War of the League of the Public Welfare in France, which had begun in 1464[211].

Historical Background: Louis XI de Valois was King of France and Edward IV of York-Plantagenêt the King of England. In France, from 1464 onwards, a civil war began between Louis XI and the upper nobility, led, among others, by the ambitious Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and by the Duke of Brittany François II . The king of France supported the English party of Lancaster [Tudor]; the house of York received the help of the Duke of Burgundy. The French and English launched deadly harassment raids against coastal towns of both countries. Jersey and the Channel Islands were awarded in 1461 by Queen Margareth of England to the

[211] The League of the Public Welfare was a feudal confederation formed in 1464 against Louis XI by the lords, among whom dominated the Duke of Berry, Louis XI's jealous brother, the Duke of Brittany [Francis II], and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. This league was dissolved after the indecisive Battle of Montlhéry [in which Pierre de Brézé was killed, among others], in which the English who helped the French feudal lords did not participate, as well as by the Treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur (1465), granting the French lords enormous advantages; but the cunning Louis XI was not long in taking back what he had given.

Frenchman Pierre de Brézé for services rendered. The archipelago was then annexed to French Normandy of which it was initially a part.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English*: Sir Richard Harliston. ♦*French*: Captain Jean Carbonnel commanded the small French garrison of the castle[212].

Opposing Troops: Small number.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Blockade, mines, assaults... In 1461 de Maulevrier had sent an expedition to Jersey under Jean Carbonnel, Seigneur de Sourdeval … Jean Nanfan, English Governor of the islands, was surprised in bed and the Castle was taken without trouble." Around the very time when King Edward IV's English throne was secure after his coronation Jersey came under threat. In the spring 1461 Montorgueil Castle was (as we said) raided by a French Force under Jean Carbonnel, cousin of Pierre de Brézé, Comte de Maulevrier who himself was the first cousin of Marguerite of Anjou, the Lancastrian Queen. The French took Montorgueil by surprise. There was suspicion of a betrayal by the forces at the Castle as a postern gate was left open and the guards were plied with drink, allowing the French to take the Castle with relative ease. The French remained in possession of the Island until 1468, when Richard Harliston, a Yorkist Vice-Admiral dedicated to the cause of Edward IV secretly landed on the Island and met with Philippe de Carteret, Seigneur de St Ouen. de Carteret

[212] Jean Carbonnel (seigneur de Sourdeval) was a French noble and Knight who, circa the early 1460s, held the chief castle on the island of Jersey (Montorgueil) on behalf of the French King, in the context of the Channel Islands conflict between England and France. Carbonnel appears in the historical record as a Captain/Governor of the island (1461-c.1467) and as part of the military company belonging to the retinue of Pierre de Brézé.

was a leading figure of resistance against the French Occupation. Harliston and de Carteret mustered local troops and laid siege to the French forces at Montorgueil on 17th May 1468.

Summary of the Action: On the night of May 17, 1468, the castle was unexpectedly invested by the islanders of the eastern part of the island and by the English fleet embossed in the bay of Grouville Jersey Island). The French were running short of supplies after 19 weeks but a St Malo boat, La Jeanette, ran the English blockade bringing much needed goods to the French garrison. Despite the additional provisions the siege only lasted for just over 6 months until the Castle finally had to surrender, and the Island was reclaimed as personal possession of the English King. On 28th January 1469 Edward IV confirmed all Jersey's ancient franchises and gave the people of Jersey freedom from charges made in cities in England, to encourage them to remain loyal to England, the English Kings granted Gascon merchants the same privileges during the Hundred Years' War. Carbonnel tried unsuccessfully to warn the Duke of Normandy, Charles de Berry. The French garrison nevertheless resisted until the end of September, and it was only after nineteen weeks of siege that it capitulated. His long and courageous resistance earned him the right to retire "with arms and baggage", and *the Honors of War*.

Casualties & Losses ♦Comparatively heavy

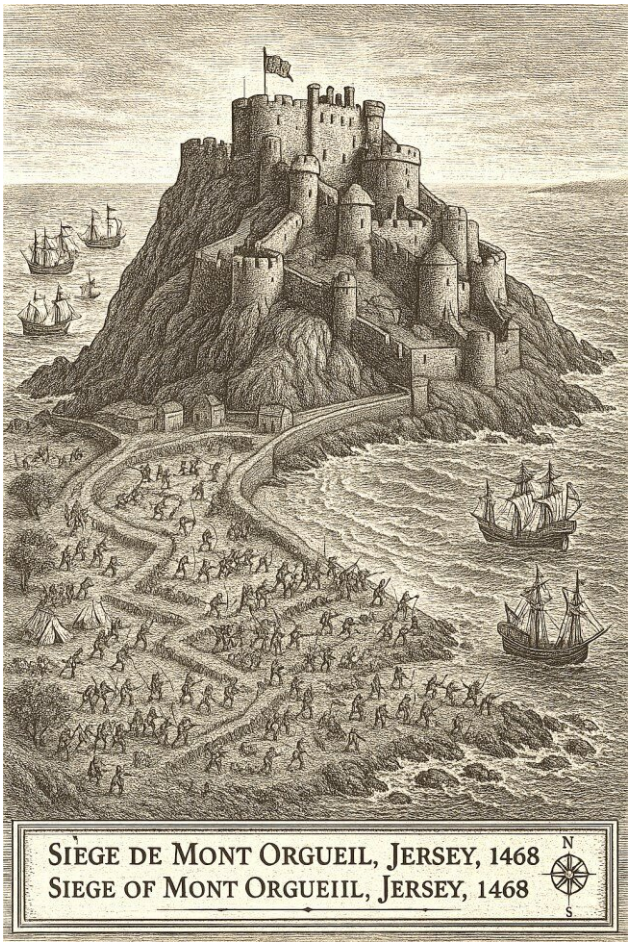
Aftermath and significance of this French defeat, the treaty of 16 February 1471 acknowledged the so-called "Channel Islands" as "the private property of the person of the King of England," who was, paradoxically, also Duke of Normandy — even though the archipelago was all that remained of the English crown's

Normandy domain. Even today [2025], King Charles III is the King of the United Kingdom, but not officially the "Duke of Normandy." However, in the Channel Islands, he is traditionally greeted as such. In Jersey, the official toast to the sovereign is: "*The Queen (or the King), our Duke*." This title is symbolic and customary, with no legal recognition in the official British titles. The islands are "Crown Dependencies": they are not part of the United Kingdom nor weren't part of the European Union, and the sovereign reigns there as "*Duke of Normandy*" in a historical rather than a legal sense.

Source & Readings ♦**Société Jersiaise (ed.)**, *Chroniques et documents médiévaux de Jersey / Medieval Jersey Chronicles and Records* (various vols., St. Helier). (French occupation of Jersey (1461–1468) and the Yorkist recovery.) ♦**English royal and administrative records, reign of Edward IV**, esp. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* and *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1460s). ♦**Modern scholarship focused on Jersey / Mont Orgueil**. ♦**Warwick Rodwell**, *Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey: History and Architecture* (Jersey Heritage / Société Jersiaise, 2006). (Best monograph on the fortress and the 15th-c. occupation/recovery context. ♦**Harold Mytum**, The Later Medieval Period, in *Jersey Resource Assessment: Later Medieval* (Jersey Heritage, 2023), ch. 8. (French handover in 1461 and recovery after a five-month siege in 1468.) ♦**Edmund Toulmin Nicolle**, *Mont Orgueil Castle: Its History and Description* (Beresford Library, 1921). ♦**N. V. L. Rybot**, *Gorey Castle / Mont Orgueil* and related articles in the *Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise* (1930s–1950s). ♦**Wider context / Wars of the Roses & Channel Islands. ♦C. S. L. Davies**, Richard III, Henry VII and the Island of Jersey (paper, Richard III Society, 2021). (1468 recovery within Yorkist strategy in the Channel and later political aftershocks.) ♦**Jersey Heritage**, Jersey's French Occupation (online). (timeline of the landing, start date **17 May 1468**, blockade, and eventual surrender.)

Siege of Mont Orgueil Castle (Gorey / 'Montorgueil'), Jersey, begun 17 May 1468 during the Wars of the Roses. Bird's-eye view over Jersey's east coast: concentric medieval fortress crowning the rock with curtain walls, round towers, and a high inner keep. Below, Gorey harbour and a narrow shoreline. In the foreground and along the landward approach, Yorkist English troops under Sir Richard Harliston and Jersey militia under Philippe de Carteret dig zig-zag trenches and earthen batteries; tiny figures with bills, bows, and early hand-guns, tents and supply carts

clustered behind low earthworks. A few small bombards/cannon on wooden beds fire toward the outer ward; starburst muzzle flashes and drifting smoke rendered in fine hatching. Offshore, an English blockade squadron of late-medieval sailing ships and pinnaces rides at anchor in a staggered line, St George flags snapping; longboats shuttle men and barrels, emphasizing the sea-cutting of supplies. Priv.Coll.



Battle of Market Bosworth.

Date of the Engagement: 22 August 1485

Location: The battlefield is located 5 km from Market Bosworth and 17 km from Leicester [England], 52º38'N; 01º13'W.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis], 1455-1485. The last battle of this war.

Historical Background: Richard III of York-Plantagenêt was King of England and Charles VIII de Valois, King of France. In this year 1485, Henry, Earl of Richmond, of the House of Lancaster claimed the throne of England. Coming from Harfleur in France, Henry of Lancaster landed on August 6 at Milford Haven in Wales, with a troop of 2,000 French soldiers who were to form the hard core of his army. Richard III of England had established his headquarters in Nottingham in central England, as he did not know where the landing would take place. Sir Rice Ap Thomas joined the Franco-English. Richmond marched on Shrewsbury where he was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot with 2,000 men. The two enemy armies met at Market Bosworth.

Opposing Commanders. ♦The King of England, Richard III[213], commanded the English army. ♦Henry of Richemont or Richmond

[213] Who wore his crown on his breastplate

led the Franco-Anglo-Welsh troops; Berault Stuart commanded the French contingent[214].

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English Army*: 12,000 men. ♦*Franco-Anglo-Welsh*: they totaled 7,000 men, including 2,000 French. ♦*Lord Stanley*, with an army of 5,000 men and Sir William Stanley with 3,000 men, both stood cautiously apart from the field of battle, waiting to see who was the strongest to line up under his banner.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: In both armies, the arrangement was the same: archers in the front line, cavalry on the wings, and a tactical reserve of infantry in the rear. The 2000 Frenchmen were placed in the second row [Tactical Reserve], with Lancaster himself. The two armies faced each other on the plain then called Redmore, in a bend of the little river Tweed. It was a plain on the banks, undulating and covered with brushwood.

[214] Berault Stuart is the author of a *Treatise on the Revolution of War* [republished by Martinus Mijhoff, The Hague in 1976. Son of Jehan Stuart, Lord of Aubigny and Concressault, Berault was born around 1452-1453. His grandfather, Jehan Stuart de Darnley [later Earl of Evreux], had landed at La Rochelle in September 1419. He was part of the contingent of Scots sent to reinforce the French army of Charles VII, as provided for in the "old alliances". With him landed the Earl of Buchan, who became Constable of France, and the Earl of Douglas, who was created Duke of Touraine. Traditionally, Scottish troops fought against the English on the continent. They accompanied Joan of Arc, fought in Switzerland and on the Rhine. Individual letters of naturalization flowed to the Scots by all the kings who succeeded each other on the throne of France until 1513, when Louis XII published the *Lettres Générés de Naturalisation pour la nation écossaise en France.* In 1415, when Charles VII created the 15 Companies of Ordinances, each comprising 100 ancient lances, one of them was composed of Scottish men-at-arms. "Berault's career was above all military. Nevertheless, his diplomatic skills were such that successive kings of France entrusted him with several delicate missions. As chamberlain and king's councillor, his first embassy was to Scotland. From this mission a new treaty was negotiated ratifying the old alliance between the two countries. This treaty was signed in Edinburgh before Easter 1484, then ratified in Paris in July... It is supposed that around this time, Berault married Anne de Baumont [or Maumont], daughter of Jeanne d'Alançon, bastard of Duke Jean II. Thanks to this marriage, Bérault inherited the county of Beaumont-le-Roger and the seigneury of Saint-Quentin." Ibid. p.xi On April 17, 1487, Berault Stuart was appointed bailiff of Berry [the king's representative, comparable to the seneschal of the South in the past or to the prefect of the Republic in today's France]. Shortly afterwards, Charles VIII sent him to Italy to settle the problem of Genoa. Berault then offered his services to Ferdinand of Aragon who was trying to drive the Arabs out of the kingdom of Granada.

Henry's allied army faced the S.E., with the village of Bosworth on its left and Shanton in its rear. Richard's army was looking north-west with Stoke Golden in the left rear and Sutton Cheney in the right rear. Its first line was commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, Richard Howard. The King Richard III himself was keeping an eye on the second line. The Franco-English held a much narrower front, due to a lack of manpower. Their first line was led by Jean de Vere; the right wing by Gilbert Talbot and the left by Sir John Savage. Henry of Lancaster commanded the second line, that is to say that of the French. At the end of the battle, seeing that he was about to be assassinated, Richard III, King of England, cried out loudly: "*A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!*" He had just sacrificed the lives of thousands of Englishmen to preserve his kingdom, and henceforth his kingdom was worth the life of a horse. Of course, no one was taken in by it; no one would exchange his horse for a kingdom he no longer possessed.

Summary of the Action: Several nights passed before the two armies clashed. Then, at about 10 a.m. on August 22nd, Richard III of York-Plantagenêt left his camp further south and advanced into battle. A little further on, Lord Stanley was deploying his troops in battle position, the King sent him a messenger: "*My lord, the King salutes you. He exhorts you to come at once to come and place yourselves under his orders, or your son, Lord Strange, will die on the spot*[215]." But Lord Stanley, who valued his career and his property above all else, preferred to sacrifice his son[216], and refused to

[215] The king had taken the precaution of taking Stanley's son hostage.

[216] Who, in the end, was saved. Lord Thomas Stanley, 1st Earl of Derby was a great lord of the northwest of England, very influential at the end of the Wars of the Roses. He had married Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry Tudor (later Henry VII), which placed

obey; on the contrary, he urged Henry to attack. The first two lines of archers then began a very dense preparatory fire. After which, with howls, the frontal lines threw themselves on each other and the hand-to-hand combat began, savage, with great blows of swords, axes and maces... All knew that they had to win or die. After an hour and a half of bloody and noisy melee, the issue seemed obvious to Lord Stanley, who watched attentively from a distance, trying to guess who seemed to dominate[217] and gain the upper hand. The Anglo-French allies fought bravely despite their severe numerical inferiority from single to double, and Lord Stanley knew that he could, single-handedly, tip the victory one way or the other. So, he advanced his 5,000 men... of the Henry's side. Considering the manoeuvre, the King of England Richard III threw caution to the wind. If he succeeded in killing Henry, he would remain alone in the contest and the fight would cease, for want not of combatants, but of pretenders to the throne of England. Because the problem of succession was to be solved on that day, by the definitive elimination of the loser. He (Richard), who knew the nobility well, knew that, if he succeeded in eliminating this rival, they [the nobility] would again bow down and change sides in order to preserve their property and privileges. He rushed at the head of a

him in an awkward position between the houses of York and Lancaster. Although officially allied with King Richard III, he had family and political ties with the opposing camp. At the Battle of Market Bosworth, Richard III ordered Stanley to join forces with the royal army. Stanley refused to make a clear commitment, citing illness or strategic prudence. His apparent neutrality allowed him to wait for the opportune moment: he finally called his troops to intervene on behalf of Henry Tudor, a decisive action that turned the tide of battle. Stanley's treachery contributed directly to the death of Richard III and the accession of Henry VII. After the battle, as a reward, Henry VII confirmed Stanley in his title of Earl of Derby and his position among the most powerful nobles in the kingdom.

[217] He did not want to bet on the wrong horse.

few knights in the direction of an elevation of land where Henri stood. On the hill, the fight was fierce. But after 15 minutes, Sir William Stanley's troops[218] also arrived as reinforcements and the English Royal Army, unwilling to fight outnumbered by 12,000 to 15,000, turned back to flee. King Richard III rolled from his horse and fell to the ground. He was immediately put to death with great blows of axes.

Casualties & Losses ♦The losses of the allies were relatively light compared to the English losses, which were weighed down by the massacre that took place during the final pursuit. The body of the King of England, found almost naked on the battlefield[219], was carried on horseback by White Boar to Leicester, where it lay in state for two days, and, for good measure, vehemently insulted by a fearful populace anxious to please the new king.

Aftermath and significance of this battle: This battle made Henry Richmond Tudor of Lancaster-Plantagenêt the new king of England [Henry VII]. The Franco-Welsh Tudor-Plantagenêt dynasty was born. The Wars of the Roses had decimated the English high nobility. For a time, there was no counterweight to royal authority in England, and feudal rivalries were to cease for the time being for want of contestants.

Source & Readings ♦The Crowland Chronicle, Continuations (c. 1485–1486). (from an English clerical milieu; cautious but invaluable for the political-military outline.) ♦**John Rous,** *Historia Regum Angliae* / *Rous Roll* (late 1480s).

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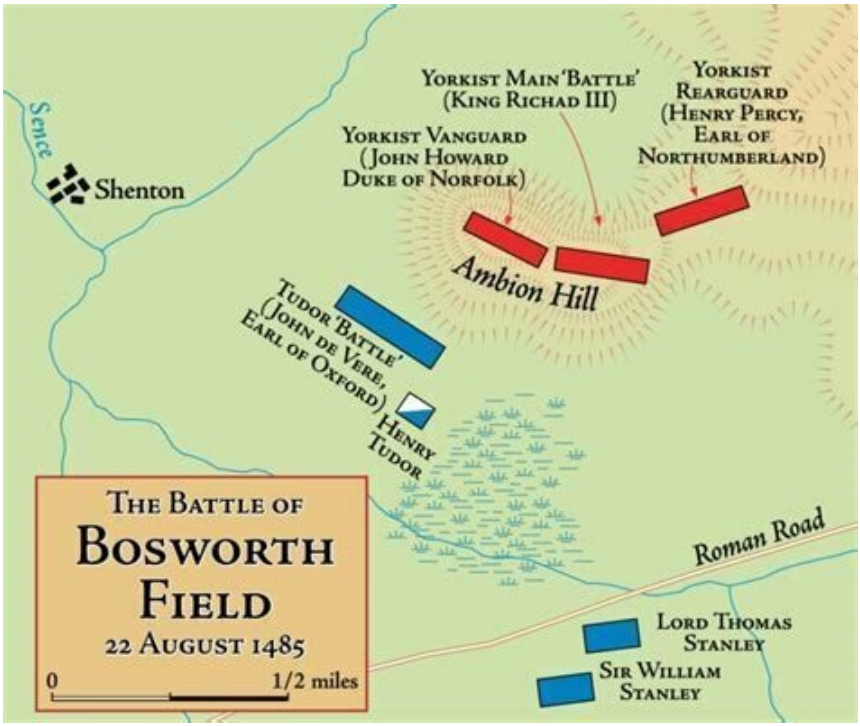
[218] Who, also on the sidelines, had scrupulously observed the "chess game" in order to guess and determine the winner before engaging in the battle of succession. What else can be done but follow the choice of its namesake?

[219] Naked, because his torn corpse had been immediately plundered like that of the other knights who wore riches.

(Yorkist-leaning account; useful for Richard III's image and campaign framing.) ♦The "Ballad of Bosworth Field" and related Tudor ballads (late 15th–16th c.). (preserve motifs about Stanley intervention and Richard's final charge.) **♦Bernard André,** *De Vita atque Gestis Henrici Septimi* **(c. 1500s). ♦Polydore Vergil,** *Anglica Historia* (written 1500s; pub. 1534). (Seminal Tudor synthesis; long-dominant account of battle sequence and Richard's death.) **♦Edward Hall,** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies…* (1548). (Tudor chronicle, influential on later writers (incl. Shakespeare). **♦Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires* (late 15th c.).** (Continental perspective on Henry Tudor's French support and European context.) **♦Jean Molinet,** *Chroniques* **(**late 15th c.). Burgundian/Franco-Netherlandish view; occasional details on forces and politics around 1485. **♦Michael K. Jones & Malcolm G. Underwood,** *The King's Grave: The Search for Richard III* **(2013).** (good for campaign/battle synthesis.) **♦Michael K. Jones,** *Bosworth 1485: The Battle That Transformed England* (Battles of the Roses series). **♦Christopher Gravett,** *Bosworth 1485: Last Charge of the Plantagenets* (Osprey, 1999). Concise, battle-focused narrative with maps/OB; standard starting point. **♦A. J. Pollard,** *Richard III and the Princes in the Tower* (1991) and/or Pollard's Wars of the Roses studies. (Strong on strategic/political stakes leading to Bosworth.) ♦English Heritage / Historic England, ***Bosworth Battlefield Report*** (official battlefield dossier. Authoritative topography, historiography, and site definition.) **♦Glenn Foard & Anne Curry,** *Bosworth 1485: A Battlefield Rediscovered* **(2013).** (Landmark archaeology-driven relocation and reinterpretation of the fighting to the Redemore/Fenn Lane area.)



Battle of Market Bosworth (Bosworth Field), Leicestershire, 22 August 1485. Bird's-eye oblique view of rolling Midlands farmland: Ambion Hill rising to the right with Richard III's Yorkist host arrayed on the ridge in three 'battles' under banners of the white boar and sunburst; billmen and archers in tight ranks, a few bombards in front firing with star-shaped muzzle flashes and drifting smoke rendered by fine hatching. To the left and foreground on lower ground (Redemore marshland hinted by reeds and wet hollows), Henry Tudor's Lancastrian line advances under the red dragon of Cadwaladr and French fleurs-de-lis: mixed Welsh spearmen, English bills, and a small core of French mercenaries with long pikes. Between the armies, the Stanley forces hover on a separate low rise, banners half-furled, depicting their late intervention. At the climax, show Richard's mounted household knights charging diagonally across the field toward Henry's standard—armoured riders with lances couched, horses in full caparison—while Henry's bodyguard closes around him. Scattered fallen men, broken standards, and a crown tumbling near a dead horse's head to foreshadow Richard's death.

Other plan more dynamic. Priv.Coll.

Capture of Marquise.

Date of the Engagement: August 22, 1549.

Location: Bourg du Pas-de-Calais, 13 km from Boulogne, on the Slack, between Boulogne-sur-Mer[220] and Calais. Geographical co-ordinates: 50°49' north latitude, and 01°42' east longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War; French participation. France and England had officially been at war since August 8, 1549, when France declared war on England.

Historical Background: Henry II de Valois was the King of France and Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. The Regent of Scotland, the French lady Marie de Guise, had appealed to France, which had responded by sending an Expeditionary Force in June 1548. This was, in fact, what rekindled hostilities between France and England.

Opposing Commanders ♦The Constable [Connétable] de Montmorency and François de Guise.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: To isolate the two English possessions on the continent (Boulogne and Calais), the Constable of Montmorency and François de Guise decided to attack and remove "*the Lines of the Slack*", i.e. the strongpoints that served as

[220] The city of Boulogne only added the mention "sur-mer" in the twentieth century, to differentiate it from Boulogne-Billancourt.

stages for the land lines of communication between these two fortresses. Marquise was one of these fortified strongpoints.

Summary of the Action: The port of Boulogne was besieged by the French. By 1548, the French had succeeded in capturing the entrance to the port. In the well-justified apprehension of an approaching invasion of Boulonnais, the English fortified Ambleteuse and all their positions from that town to Boulogne. While the French Leo Strozzi squadron [mercenaries] was defeating the English fleet in the Channel in July 1549, the King of France came from Paris to witness the conquest of this English region. On the 18th of August, the Constable de Montmorency and the Duke d'Aumale welcomed the King in Montreuil. The next day, the French army moved towards Boulemberg[221], which the English had occupied. Passing through Macqunghem, the king of France arrived at the village of Ardenthun near Marquise, which he took possession of after a slight skirmish. The French army then attacked and stormed Marquise after a furious hand-to-hand fight.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this of this English defeat: The capture of this strongpoint considerably weakened the strategic situation of Calais and Boulogne, by cutting off all logistical lines.

Source & Readings ♦**Martin du Bellay**, *Mémoires* (ed. D. Sauvage, Paris, 1551–1569). (Eyewitness-level French perspective on campaigns of Henri II, including actions in Picardy in 1549.) ♦**Jean de Tavannes**, *Mémoires* (written c. 1573–1575). **Edward Hall**, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families*

[221] *Montagne de Boulogne*. In the Middle Ages, one could write Boleynberg as Anne Boleyn, mistress and then wife of Henry VIII of England.

of Lancastre and Yorke (London, 1548 ed.; cont'd posthumously). (English chronicle with valuable notes on earlier Tudor operations and border garrisons.) ♦**State Papers Henry VIII and Edward VI**, esp. *State Papers Foreign, Edward VI, 1547–1553*. (English diplomatic and military correspondence covering Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and the Pale, including skirmishes around Marquise.) ♦**David Potter**, *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540–1547* (2008). (Background on the Boulogne–Calais theatre whose fortresses were still being contested in 1549.) ♦**Neil Murphy**, *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne, 1544–1550* (Oxford, 2020). (The most authoritative modern study of the region during the occupation—covers the French offensives of 1549 (including minor strongpoints such as Marquise, Hardinghen, and Outreau).) ♦**R. J. Knecht**, *The Valois: Kings of France 1328–1589* (2004). (General strategic framing of Henri II's reconquest efforts.) ♦**Gervase Phillips**, "The Boulogne Campaigns, 1544–1550" in *Journal of Military History* 66 (2002). (Excellent discussion of the minor actions and raiding war around the Boulogne Pale[222].) ♦**A. D. Passman**, articles in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* on Picardy warfare.

Reconstitution of the Capture of Fort Marquise. Priv.Coll.

[222] Boulogne Pale = The English sector of Boulogne included 4 strongholds: Fort-Outreau, Fort Newhaven (or Nouveau Port), Fort Blackness and Fort Ambleteuse .

North Sea Naval Combat

Date of faction: 9 August 1543.

Location: The exact coordinates are unknown.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V (wider Habsburg–Valois war.) French participation in the Franco-Scottish alliance War of Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. The French King was at war with Emperor Charles V and England. The convoys between France and Scotland were therefore the object of repeated attacks by the English squadrons. In 1542, Mary Stuart[223] had become Queen of the Scots by the death of her father, James.

Opposing Troops engaged: A French squadron of 8 sails. An eight-ship French escort was shepherding a transport convoy somewhere in the North Sea (exact coordinates not preserved).

[223] The name of the Scottish Stuart family, also spelled Steaart, Stewart, Steward, was none other than the title of the functions of Lord steward exercised hereditarily by its members. The patronymic name was FitzAlan (from the Franco-Norman Son of Alain). This family — true *mayors of the palace* — provided Scotland with 14 sovereigns, the best known of whom was the famous Mary, who also became Queen of France, and, from 1608, six for England [James I, Charles I, Charles II, James II, Mary and Anne]. The last of the Stuart dynasty was Henry, Benedict, Clement Stuart, cardinal of York, born at Rome, died at Frascati (1725-1807), younger brother of Charles Edward.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: France was at war with Charles V's Empire and England. English squadrons were repeatedly trying to cut the *France–Scotland sea link*, because France was sending men, money, and matériel to support Scotland after James V's death and the accession of the infant Mary Stuart. The escort played its part and blocked the attack as the convoy passed, but it lost three small fighting ships. The escort ran into an English squadron. The French formed a *blocking action* while the convoy slipped past. In the process, *three small Dieppe warships*— Le FRANÇOIS**,** Le JACQUES*, and* Le MARTIN deliberately "sacrificed" themselves to hold off the English. The *rear-guard stayed to die* so the convoy could reach Scotland — classic 16th-century escort doctrine in extremis.

Summary of the Action: The eight French ships escorting a convoy of transports fell on the English fleet. During the ensuing battle somewhere in the North Sea, Le FRANÇOIS, Le JACQUES and Le MARTIN[224] sacrificed themselves to bar the passage of the English while the convoy passed.

Casualties & Losses ♦The French lost 3 ships with their crew of 100 men each. English casualties and ship losses are not stated in the surviving summary.

Aftermath and significance of this English failure, the French convoy passed and reinforcements were able to reach Scotland.

Source & Readings : ♦**Charles de La Roncière**, *Histoire de la marine française***,** vol. 3–4. (guerres de François Ier / Henry VIII period). ♦**Jean-Claude**

[224] 100 men each.

Castex, *Dictionnaire des batailles navales franco-anglaises* — entry "Mer du Nord, Bataille navale de la – 9 août 1543. Gives the escort size, mission, sacrifice of *François/Jacques/Martin*, and French losses. ♦Calendars of State Papers (England/Scotland/France), 1542–1544 — for English cruising orders in the North Sea and convoy interceptions tied to the Scottish theatre (look esp. summer 1543). Mentioned as core source bases for this war-at-sea context. ♦Standard narratives of the Italian War of 1542–1546 / Habsburg–Valois conflict — to situate why English forces were operating in the North Sea against Franco-Scottish traffic.

The Battle of Lepanto was a naval engagement that took place on 7 October 1571 when a fleet of the Holy League, a coalition of Catholic states arranged by Pope Pius V and led by the navies of the Republic of Venice and the Spanish Empire, inflicted a major defeat on the fleet of the Ottoman Empire in the Gulf of Patras (Greece). This great battle fits into the context of this work: Threatened by Charles V (Holy Roman Empire and Spanish Empire) as well as by England in the west, the French requested the intervention of the Ottoman Empire, which occupied the Balkans but was stopped before Vienna and in the Gulf of Patras. The outcome proved decisive. On the Christian side some 7,500 men were killed and 47 vessels were lost, including roughly a dozen galleys. Ottoman losses were far heavier: an estimated 23,000 killed, wounded, or taken captive; 62 ships sunk, a further 130 seized, and approximately 12,000 Christian galley slaves set free. Priv.Coll.

Attack on Montrose.

***Other name*:** Battle of the Links.

Date of action: Mid-August 1548.

Location: 56º43'North and 02º29'West. Port of Scotland on the North Sea at the mouth of the South Esk, on the edge of a lagoon created by the tide[225]. It was there that the King of England Edward I Plantagenêt had received in 1296 the forced homage of the King of Scotland John de Bailleul[226], King of French origin who reigned from 1292 to 1296. He rebelled shortly after the beginning of his reign.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation. France and England have been officially at peace since 17 June.

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[225] Called Montrose Basin.

[226] Also spelled Baliol; born in 1250 and died "in France" in 1314. The Baliols or Bailleuls were a French family from Bailleul, in the Orne, who had emigrated to England at the time of William the Conqueror, and who had gone to make their fortune in this Little America of the eleventh century, then a land of immigration and colonization for the French to the detriment of the local Anglo-Saxon populations that William wanted to supervise [see in the Repertoire, the rubric Elie, lie d']. The best known of the family's descendants, John, was proclaimed King of Scotland in 1292, despite the claims of Scotsman Robert Bruce, thanks to the support of the English government, which insisted on placing his creatures in order to annex this country de facto. But Baliol eventually revolted and was defeated by Edward I of England, his overlord, at the Battle of Dunbar. 11 abdicated in 1296 and retired to France. His son Edward also became King of Scotland, but, defeated by the English and driven out by his subjects, he had to abdicate in favour of Edward III of England.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henry II de Valois the King of France. For politico-religious reasons, the Regent of Scotland, the French-woman Marie de Guise, mother of Mary Stuart, appealed to France, which sent a fleet in June 1548.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦British fleet: 42 warships.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: During the *Rough Wooing,* an English sea-borne force (linked to the Broughty Castle garrison and wider Somerset/Shrewsbury strategy) attempted to land and/or strike Montrose in *mid-August 1548*. Local Scots repelled the landing on the Links (the sandy coastal common), an episode remembered as the *Battle of the Links*, and defensive works/fortification followed. One historian described Montrose as follows: "... its course is not safe, but the port is good, and ships can enter or leave regardless of the tide... The present fort is scarcely worthy of being called that... it has no water and is so small that it can neither accommodate a garrison nor contain reserves. In addition, it is built on quicksand[227]..."

Summary of the Action: After a vain attempt to seize Leith, the main French base in Scotland, the English fleet pounded the French defenses at Montrose in preparation for a landing. Montrose was held by the Franco-Scots. But when the Landing Corps, under the command of Admiral Thomas Seymour, tried to make landfall, the

[227] Jean de Geaugue, in his History of the Scottish War during the campaigns of 1548-1549.

French response was fierce. There was carnage and the English troops re-embarked in all haste under French fire.

Casualties & Losses ♦*English* 600 or 700 killed. ♦*French*: unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The danger of an English invasion was for the moment averted.

Source & Readings ♦**Bain, Joseph.** *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, vol. 1 (1547–1563). Edinburgh, 1898. (*English diplomatic and military dispatches; includes reports on 1548 coastal raids and garrison operations in eastern Scotland.)* ♦Hamilton Papers / Sadler State Papers / *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Edward VI* (1548). **(***Correspondence of English commanders and council; useful for operational detail on naval descents, including attempts on Angus/Tayside ports such as Montrose.)* ♦**Beaugué, Jean de.** *Histoire de la guerre d'Écosse* (covering 1548–49 campaigns). (*describes the 1548 strategic situation and English coastal threats to burghs on the east coast.)* ♦*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (late 1548 onward). ♦**Merriman, Marcus.** ***The Rough Wooings:*** *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551.* Tuckwell Press, 2000. (*Best modern synthesis; treats 1548 coastal warfare and English garrison strategy that frames the Montrose attempt.)* ♦**Merriman, Marcus & R.T. Summerson.** Studies on the Rough Wooing / Broughty Castle garrison (articles & monograph-level chapters). **(***Explain the operational base on the Tay and its raids northward along the Angus coast.)* ♦**Caldwell, David; Oleksy, Vicky; Rhodes, Bess.** *The Battle of Pinkie, 1547.* Oxbow, 2023. (*For immediate aftermath and why English combined land-sea pressure intensified in 1548, leading to descents like Montrose.)* ♦*Historic Environment Scotland. "The Story of Scotland's Longest Siege: Haddington 1548–49.* 2022 (blog). (*Provides the 1548 strategic moment (French aid, English garrisons, coastal raiding) in which the Montrose landing fits.)* ♦Montrose Basin Heritage Society. "Montrose Timeline. **(***Local summary preserving the traditional dating and label "Battle of the Links" for the repulsed English attempt in 1548.*)

Attack on Montrose (Battle of the Links), mid-August 1548, during the Rough Wooing. Bird's-eye oblique view of Montrose on the east Scottish coast: the River South Esk curving into a sand-barred harbour, the compact burgh with stone houses and a kirk tower just inland. In the foreground on the broad sandy Links, an English landing force from pinnaces and small Tudor troop-boats struggles ashore through surf—men in morions and buff coats with pikes, bills, and arquebuses, a few light field-guns being hauled on sledges. From the dunes and grassy common, Scottish defenders—Angus lairds, burghers, and spearmen in bonnets and plaids—charge in tight ranks, some firing hagbuts; a swirl of close combat with overturned boats, scattered barrels, and splintered oars. Offshore, several English ships ride at anchor with St George flags snapping; smoke from a ship's falconet and from shore arquebus volleys drifts across a finely hatched sea. Background shows low dunes, salt-marsh edges, and the town's hastily raised earthwork/ditch line beginning to take shape. Fine line-work, dense cross-hatching for shadows, sharp silhouettes, period-accurate rigging and weapons.

Raid against Morlaix

Date of the Engagement: July 1, 1522.

Location: Brittany, France. 48°35'N; 03°50'W.

Conflict: War between France and the House of Austria. Second phase of the War of the Holy League. Participation of Henry VIII of England in the Holy League.

Historical Background: Francis I de Valois was King f France and Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. Francis I was at war with Emperor Charles V: Wars of Italy. Renewal of the War of the Holy League: After the failure of the Calais Conference, Pope Leo X, Henry VIII of England and Emperor Charles V signed a secret treaty of coalition against France. The coalized undertook to attack France simultaneously from the South, the East and the North. On May 29, 1522, England declared war on France. Wishing to avenge their defeat in 1513 on the coast of Brest, that of 1522 against Cherbourg and the losses inflicted by Jean and Nicolas Coatanlem, corsairs from Morlaix, on their merchant fleet, the English decided to send an expedition against this city.

Opposing Commanders ♦*Anglo-Spanish*: Admiral Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.

Opposing Forces ♦*Anglo-Spanish* fleet: 200 sail and galleys, according to others 108 sail, and even 60 sails.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Surprise. To divide the French armed forces, the coalized would simultaneously attack France from the south, north and east. At Morlaix, the town and the castle were at first taken by cunning [by disguise]. To the south of the Bay of Morlaix there are two rivers, including the Morlaix River. At the entrance to the Morlaix river, in front of the Carantac Peninsula, stands a rock, the *Rocher du Taureau*, on which the *Château du Taureau* was built in 1521 to block the Morlaix river from English looters, who, in times of war, went up to this town. Informed of this construction, the English armed several small vessels, embarked volunteers and launched a raid, during which they destroyed the fort and went up to Morlaix. A few years later the fort was rebuilt, larger, with a mortar stone enclosure[228], a battery of small cannons and a permanent but small garrison.

Summary of the Action: It was July 4th, 1522. On that day, there was a large fair in Noyal-Pontivy and a show of the ban and arriere-ban from *Tréguier* to *Guingamp*[229] . Gentlemen and rich bourgeois were therefore absent; the city and the castle defenseless. Warned of these facts by a traitor named Latricle, lieutenant of the Morlaix' Captain[230], the Anglo-Spaniards invaded the roadstead on board numerous ships. A part of the crews was put ashore, and the pirates, disguised, some as peasants, others as merchants, made their way

[228] Although with earthen mortar

[229] Under the feudal government, the word ban, which meant banner, designated the convocation made by the lord to his vassals. The nobility alone then performed military service; the name of ban was given to the immediate vassals, to the lords summoned by the king himself, and that of backbench to the great-vassals called by their suzerain. Hence the expression: "to summon the ban and Tamere-ban," for war, or, as here, for a simple review of arms and equipment.

[230] And he also offered the enemy the support of the troops which he commanded.

at daybreak to the city, where they were received without suspicion. Some entered the castle, the gates of which were opened to them by Latricle[231] second in command, others stopped in the suburbs, but the greater part remained concealed in the woods of Styvel. Orders were then given to the pataches of the squadron to go up the channel at the evening tide, and to dock at the quays to embark the booty. But the riverside peasants, seized with skepticism at the sight of this suspicious flotilla, aborted the project by throwing into the river, opposite the convent of St. Francis, a dozen large trees [with their branches] which they had felled in the ravines of Cuburien. Stopped by this obstacle, the plunderers who were mounting the boats jumped on land and advanced towards Morlaix to come and lend a hand to their companions. About midnight, when the town was plunged into sleep, the English appeared in the streets, and, at a given signal, took Morlaix without the slightest resistance. The doors of the houses were broken down and immediately the looting began. The inhabitants, awakened with fear, were so seized with terror that they fled by all the exits, abandoning all their possessions to the English. Two persons alone did not lose their heads, and thought of defending themselves. The rector of Ploujean, chaplain of Notre-Dame-du-Mur, raised the drawbridge of the Notre-Dame gate and climbed the tower, from which he shot down a good number of Englishmen with muskets[232] until he was killed at his fighting post. The second person who did not lose her mind was a woman. In a house on the Grand'Rue, a chambermaid,

[231] Latricle was the captain's lieutenant, i.e. assistant to the captain because he took the place of the captain in the absence of the latter. Today we would say "acting".

[232] In spite of his ecclesiastical state, which forbade him to shed human blood. But wasn't it self-defense?

seeing that everyone had run away from home, gathered together some young girls of Spartan courage[233], determined like herself to sell their skins dearly and what the singer Enrico Macias called[234] *the honor of the family.* With their help, she lifted the cellar hatch that opened into the dark corridor, then, moving a valve that communicated with the river, she flooded the cellar. This done, she left the street door ajar, and took refuge in the attic with her daring companions. The English raiders, rushing in crowds into the house, fell into this abyss, which the darkness prevented them from perceiving. they drowned there to the number of eighty[235]! However, the attic was forced open and the brave young girls, assaulted by the English soldiers, were seized and thrown through the skylight onto the pavement of the street.... The houses were therefore ransacked as well as the churches. The community house was set on

[233] The heroism of the women of Sparta was legendary. By way of illustration, we will only mention the Greek writer Plutarch, who, in his Moral Works, gave these few examples: "A mother, having heard that her son had fled from the enemy, sent him this letter: 'An odious report has spread over you; you must wash it or die." A young Spartan complained to his mother: "My sword is very short, mamma!" "'Take a step further, my son; it will be quite long!" A Lacedaemonian [Spartan woman] whose five sons were in war stood at the gates of the city, eagerly awaiting Tissue from the battle. She questioned the first soldier who presented himself; he told her that all his sons had been deported: "That is not what I ask of you," she answered; "Where are the affairs of the country?" "Sparta is victorious!" "Well! It is with joy that I also learn of the death of my sons!" concludes the tender mother. Nearer to us, the Amerindian women showed no less courage. Thus, this advice given by a widow to her son Chief-Courant, a young Paunis Indian: "If I live to see you become a man, and go to war, I will not cry if I am told that you were killed in combat. Because this is what it means to be a man: to fight and to be brave. ["If I live to see you a man, and to go off on the warpath, I would not cry if I were to hear that you had been killed in battle. That is what makes a man: to fight and to be brave", quoted by Alvin M. Josephy, 500 Nations, Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, New York, 1994. P.363].

[234] Wrongly.

[235] The number seems to be a little swollen by the enthusiasm of the Morlaisians; for more than 50 corpses in a cellar would have prevented the last thirty from reaching the water. Unless...

fire and burned down with almost all its archives... At dawn, the English, gorged with good wine and weighed down with booty, tried to reach their ships, taking as prisoners a certain number of notables to be ransomed. Six or seven hundred English stragglers, who had lingered to empty a few more barrels of nectar into the cellars of the houses of the Lances, lost their way in the woods of Styvel and fell asleep to sleep off their wine. The Lord of Laval, King's lieutenant in Brittany, inspector of the "watch"[236] 1 at Guingamp, was warned by some fugitives of what was going on there. He ran with the gentlemen of the country, surprised the English in their heavy vapors of alcohol, put them to the sword without difficulty, and recovered the booty they were carrying. The dead were buried at the Capuchins [aux Capucins].

Casualties & Losses ♦The *English* lost 700 or 800 men, killed. ♦The *French* had a few dozen civilians, but many women were raped, and property looted.

Aftermath and significance of this raid: The town of Morlaix, completely ruined by this surprise attack, remained ten years in desolation. A second raid carried out by the English between 1522 and 1544 would have slowed down the reconstruction of this city. At the entrance to the harbor, on the rocky islet, a new castle of Taureau was rebuilt, completed in 1544, held by a permanent garrison of "23 soldiers, a trumpeter, a cannoneer, a chaplain and a governor."

[236] The review of arms.

Coup-de-main on Morlaix, Brittany, 1 July 1522. Bird's-eye view of the ria of Morlaix and the town: a winding tidal estuary with wooded banks leading to the stone bridge and clustered slate-roof houses inside low medieval walls. In the foreground at Le Dourduff landing-place, English troop-boats and pinnaces pull into the mudflats at low tide; soldiers in Tudor morions and brigandines leap ashore with pikes, bills, and arquebuses, hauling a few light falcons on sledges. Mid-ground: Surrey's columns surge along the causeway toward the gates; townspeople and a thin Breton militia retreat in confusion, some firing from the wall. Smoke begins to rise from the port quarter and warehouses; a few ships in the harbour burn or are being boarded, masts splintering. Offshore in the bay, larger English sailing ships ride at anchor with St George flags snapping; cannon-flashes shown as sharp starbursts, dense cross-hatching for smoke and shadow. (Priv.Coll.)

Source & Readings : ♦**Edward Hall**, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (a.k.a. **Hall's Chronicle**), year 1522 section. (Hall gives the fullest narrative of Surrey's landing in the ria of Morlaix, the surprise entry, and the sack. It is treated as the "source princeps" for the event.) ♦**Richard Grafton**, *Grafton's Chronicle* (mid-16th c.), (repeating/expanding Hall's account and noting subsequent English movements along the Breton coast.) ♦**Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII**, vol. III (1521–1523) (dispatches and administrative records around late June–July 1522, including Surrey's report of the taking of Morlaix and naval logistics. The Calendar is the standard gateway to the Kew originals.) ♦**Spanish and Venetian diplomatic correspondence**, July 1522 (e.g., Martín de Salinas; Gasparo Contarini), (describing the English descent on Brittany and naming Morlaix among the burned towns.) ♦**La Bretagne et la guerre d'Écosse**, Presses universitaires de Rennes, ch. II "**La surprise de Morlaix (1522)**. (The most detailed modern French analysis: landing point (Le Dourduff), scale of force, ship losses, booty estimates, and strategic context.) ♦**Neil Murphy**, "Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France …" *Past & Present* 233 (2016). (Uses Morlaix as a case study of Tudor coastal violence and strategy in 1522.) ♦**Mary Rose Trust**, The life of the Mary Rose. (Brief but reliable operational summary noting the success at Morlaix on **1 July 1522** within Surrey's Channel/Brittany cruise.) ♦ **I.G. Helps**, *The Career of Sir William Fitzwilliam…* (For wider naval-war context in 1522: and related Tudor naval studies that situate Morlaix within the Brittany raids.)

Skirmish of Oxfordness.

Date of the Engagement: 6 July 1543.

Location: Peninsula located in the south-east of England.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V. Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. On November 24, 1521, Henry VIII and Emperor Charles V [Charles Quint] had signed a secret treaty of coalition against France. On May 29, 1522, Henry VIII of England had declared war on France because, on the one hand, he wanted to reconquer Normandy (an eternal English dream) and Guyenne, and, on the other hand, he wanted to punish Francis I of France who was helping Scotland in its war of independence from England's grip. The Treaty of Rouen of 26 August 1517, between France and Scotland, obliged France to provide soldiers to Scotland. The convoys between these two countries were therefore the object of repeated attacks on the part of the English squadrons. In 1542, Mary Stuart had become Queen of Scots by the death of her father, James V. But until 1560 —that is, for 18 years— it was his mother, Mary of Guise, who was Regent of Scotland.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦*French* transport squadron consisted of 16 ships, including 8 escort ships. ♦The *English* squadron consisted of 6 large warships. It was reinforced in April 1543 by the 11 cruisers of *Flemish* Vice-Admiral Van Meckeren.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Melee with cannonades and boarding.

Summary of the Action: In this year 1543, the French squadron of 16 sails had brought to Aberdeen some reinforcement of troops and urgent dispatches to the dowager queen[237]. But on the return trip to Oxfordness on 6 July, a squadron of six large English warships tried to intercept the convoy. The 8 French escort ships, grouped around the ship Le SACRE, detached themselves to block the English squadron's route while the rest of the convoy continued on its way. A French ship of 120 men was attacked by The LESSER GALLEY. As for Le SACRE, it victoriously withstood the most violent combat. Twice boarded by The PRIMROSE and The MINION, and although her captain was wounded, The SACRE not only managed to free herself from the clutches of English captains Rice Mancell and Baldwin Willoughby after inflicting heavy casualties on them, but she even managed to take one of their ships from them.

Casualties & Losses ♦The English lost one ship, the French none.

Aftermath and significance of the English failure, the French convoy managed to force its way through. With their capture, the SACRE and the French escort ships returned to France.

Source & Readings ♦**Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII**, vols. **18–19 (1543–1544).** (Admiralty orders, convoy instructions, prizes, and naval encounters in the North Sea/Scottish waters are routinely logged here.) ♦**Calendar of State Papers, Scotland**, vol. 1 (to 1547) — (English diplomatic and naval reporting tied to the crisis of 1543 and coastal waters.) ♦**Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland** (mid-1543 entries) (payments for coastal defense, shipping levies, or losses sometimes preserve otherwise-unknown

[237] Dowager' comes from dowry. The dower was the set of territorial property that had been inherited

skirmishes.) ♦**French naval Correspondence and ordonnances**, in **Archives nationales / Service historique de la Défense (Vincennes), séries Marine.** (cruise orders, prize lists, and reports from Breton/Norman captains in the 1542–46 war.) ♦**David Loades,** ***The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History*** (1992) (best single modern guide to Henry VIII's fleet activity and documentation in the early 1540s.) ♦**N. A. M. Rodger,** ***The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660–1649*** (1997). (synthesizes campaigns and often points to the exact archival bundles for minor actions.) ♦**David Potter,** ***Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict, 1540–1547*** (2011). (tight narrative of the Anglo-French naval war that frames 1543 cruises and raids.) ♦**Marcus Merriman,** ***The Rough Wooings, 1542–1551*** (2000.) (for Scottish-coast operations and how they intersect with naval fighting in 1543.) ♦**Raymond Campbell Paterson,** ***My Wound Is Deep: A History of the Later Anglo-Scottish Wars, 1380–1560*** (1997). (useful for locating small coastal or island actions in contemporary Scottish memory.)

Battle of Plougonvelin.

Date of the Engagement: 30 July 1558.

Location: Lochrist-Plougonvelin; not far from Le Conquet, Brittany, France.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V and Ferdinand had resumed in 1551.

Historical Background: Henry II de Valois was the King of France and Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt the Queen of England. Charles V of the Holy Empire had abdicated in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand. England had joined Spain in her war against France. Many raids were carried out on the coasts of France and England.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: An English prisoner revealed to the French that Admiral Clinton[238] had the mission to seize Brest on pain of being hanged. A large Anglo-Flemish/Anglo-Dutch expedition (c. 100–150 sails) landed at *Blancs-Sablons* to threaten Brest; raiders burned *Saint-Mathieu abbey* and devastated *Le Conquet* and *Plougonvelin* before being counter-attacked by a locally raised force under *Guillaume du Chastel* and parish captains (notably Jan/Bastien Poncelin), and driven back to the sea.

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[238] Edward Fiennes de Clinton (1512–1585), later 1st Earl of Lincoln. He was active in naval warfare and campaigns against Scotland and France. For example he commanded fleets in the 1540s. He served as *Lord High Admiral of England* during two major periods, from 1550 to 1554 under Edward VI and Mary I.

Summary of the Action: The Anglo-Flemish army, transported by 150 ships, including 120 English and 30 Flemish, landed and burned the village of Plougonvelin where 220 houses were destroyed. The abbey of Saint-Mathieu was also sacked. During this plunder, the local nobles and peasants lined up in crowds under the orders of Guillaume du Chastel[239]. In half a day, 9,000 men, more or less well armed, but furious and anxious to fight off the English plunderers, ranged themselves in battle and threw themselves upon the Anglo-Flemish army. After a fierce and violent battle, in which the Anglo-Flemish army lost 500 men and the peasants probably more, the Anglo-Flemish began to retreat in the greatest disorder. Their precipitous disengagement was fortunately covered by four Flemish companies[240] which were the only ones to resist with discipline. In addition to the dead, these four valiant companies left 340 prisoners in the hands of the French peasants, that is to say almost all their survivors. The remnants of Anglo-Flemish troops, who had been covered by van Meckeren, had hastily re-embarked on board their fleet, but in the course of the operations 4 large hourques were sunk in the bay.

Casualties & Losses ♦*French*: 220 houses were burned and hundreds of peasants killed in action. ♦*English*: 500 English soldiers and a hundred Flemings were killed, and 340 taken prisoner. Total losses: 940 men.

Aftermath and Significance of this Anglo-Flemish defeat: After this setback, the Anglo-Flemish fleet withdrew to Roscoff.

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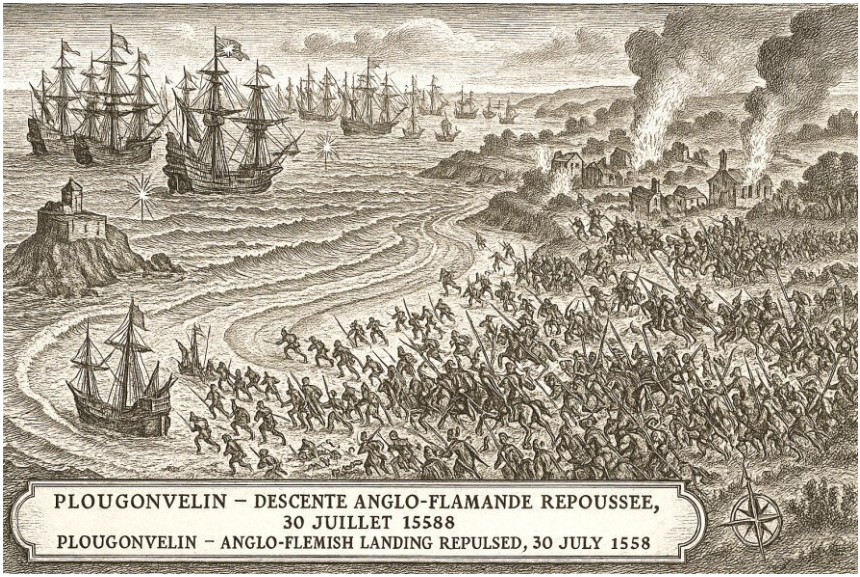
[239] Sieur de Kersimon.

[240] Vice-Admiral Gerard van Meckeren.

Source & Readings ♦**Jean Leprêtre de Lézonnet,** *Rapport de commissaire du Roi sur les dégâts de l'incursion de 1558.* (archives du Finistère; often cited in local histories. This is the key administrative eyewitness-style account detailing the landing, pillage, burnings, and losses.) ♦*Parish/communal records of Plougonvelin–Le Conquet and abbey documents of Saint-Mathieu* (mid-16th c., for demographic/property effects and reconstruction traces.) ♦*French royal and provincial correspondence on Brittany's coastal defense*, 1558–1560 (orders to the duc d'Étampes, governor of Brest; subsequent fortification measures). Context noted in Brest fortress histories. ♦*English/Spanish naval war papers for the 1557–1559 Anglo-French wa,* (State Papers, Admiralty/Privy Council letters), for the expedition's strategic intent against Brest.) ♦**Yves Chevillotte,** Le château de Bertheaume… des origines à Vauban," *Histoires et choses d'autrefois à Plougonvelin*, fasc. 3 & 12**.** (Best modern local synthesis: gives numbers of ships/men, the burnings at Plougonvelin & Saint-Mathieu, and identifies the counter-attack leadership (Jan Poncelin; Guillaume du Chastel). ♦L'incursion anglaise de 1558," Locmaria-Patrimoine (online heritage dossier; clear narrative of landing at Blancs-Sablons, spread of raiding columns, and repulse.) ♦Croix des Anglais" heritage note (Locmaria-Patrimoine). Short but precise on force sizes and the local levy's counter-attack. ♦*Article "Château de Brest" (section on 30 juillet 1558).* (Concise strategic framing: attempted seizure of Brest from the rear; aftermath prompting strengthened defenses.) ♦General context: studies of the 1557–1559 Anglo-French war / last phase of the Italian War of 1551–1559**,** for why an Anglo-Flemish/Anglo-Dutch fleet struck Brittany's coast in 1558. (Useful for situating Plougonvelin within the wider maritime pressure on France.)

Battle of Plougonvelin (Blancs-Sablons), 30 July 1558. Bird's-eye view over the western entrance of the Rade de Brest: in the foreground the wide pale sands of Blancs-Sablons curving toward the rocky islet-fort of Bertheaume. Offshore, a dense Anglo-Flemish/Anglo-Dutch fleet of tall-masted Tudor sailing ships and pinnaces rides at anchor in staggered lines, St George and Low-Country flags snapping; longboats swarm to shore. Cannon flashes shown as sharp starbursts. On the beach, 7,500 English and Flemish soldiers in morions, brigandines, and puffed sleeves pour from landing boats, hauling light falcons on sledges; some already push inland along hedged lanes. Mid-ground: smoke columns rise from the burning abbey of Saint-Mathieu at the Pointe Saint-Mathieu and from pillaged houses in Plougonvelin/Le Conquet; tiny figures flee with bundles, overturned carts, and scattered barrels. Right and landward: a Breton counter-attack forms—local nobles and coast-guards with pikes, bills, and arquebuses, led by Guillaume du Chastel and parish captains, charging down from bocage ridges toward the beach. A tight mêlée at the dunes: fallen men, broken oars, horses rearing, banners tangled. Sea rendered with fine hatching and swirling wake lines; sky cross-hatched, dramatic coastal cliffs and the low silhouette of Brest/Rade in the distance. (Priv.Coll.)



Battle of Portsmouth

Date of the Engagement: 18 July 1545.

Location: English war port located in the south of England. Geographical coordinates: 50° 48' north latitude, and 01° 05' west longitude.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was momentarily stopped. French participation in the Scottish War of Independence in the face of England's annexationist ambitions.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. In 1545, Francis I had planned to seize the Isle of Wight in the southern sector of Portsmouth.

Opposing Commanders ♦The *English* fleet was commanded by Admiral Sir John Dudley, Baron of Isle, Admiral of England since 1543. Vice-Admiral Sir George Carew and Captain Roger Grenville commanded the MARIE-ROSE, the most modernized unit in the English fleet at the time. In fact, this 700-ton ship was 35 years old but it had been dangerously overloaded with heavy artillery. ♦The *French* fleet was under the command of Admiral Claude d'Annebault, Baron de Retz.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English* fleet: 150 warships. ♦*French* fleet 140 ships[241].

Strategic and Tactical considerations: The English fleet was besieged by the French squadron but did not accept a general battle. It was Henry VIII himself who had the idea, borrowed from the Mediterranean navies, of mounting heavy artillery on the lower decks of the MARIE-ROSE, the jewel of England[242]. This ship, whose fate was so disastrous, was a milestone in the English navy. Nine years earlier, the MARIE-ROSE had been renovated and her armament increased and modernized. Large bronze cannons had been added. In addition, not counting its crew of 415 sailors, the ship carried 285 heavily armed soldiers covered in armor[243]. All this weight, which had not been foreseen when the ship was designed, was the cause of the capsizing. As the ship turned abruptly in order to use the other battery, a wind, however modest, tilted the ship to such an extent that the ports of the lower battery came dangerously close to sea level and then disappeared. The water immediately invaded the steerage and the ship sank in a few minutes. Unfortunately, a tactical detail had been added to the defenses that would cause the loss of many casualties on the English side: an anti-personnel net. This net of ropes, intended to contain the assaults of the French, bordered the railing to a height of 2.50 m to 3.00 m. He became a death trap for the English, caught as in a mousetrap. When, in full panic, the English sailors tried to leave the capsized ship, only 30 of the 700 men on board were not

[241] Galleys and troop transports.
[242] Named after Mary Tudor, the king's sister, whose family symbol was the rose.
[243] Which added an additional 24 or 25 tons above the waterline.

drowned; the only ones who survived were the sailors who were in the rigging and the sharpshooters perched in the crow's nests. Underwater research carried out[244] in 1970 revealed that the newly embarked large guns were of a new type: unlike the guns of the time, which were made of long metal bars forged and welded into cylinders, they were made of a single iron plate wound and belted, every ten centimeters, by about twenty large metal ferrules [or strapping rings]. expanded by heating and then cooled in position. Between these narrow rings, broad, cylindrical rings doubled the thickness of the metal plates. These guns must therefore have been more powerful, since the loss of pressure was less thanks to the greater watertightness. Interesting novelty: the compression cylinder heads were removable[245]. The artillerymen removed them, loaded them with powder and cast-iron or stone balls which split on impact and thus exploded in a bouquet of dangerous anti-personnel projectiles. The section of the painting in the British Museum[246] shows the beginning of the fighting: on the left, the Royal Navy is not visible. We can see that a few boats are trying to rescue the rare survivors of the MARIE-ROSE which has just disappeared underwater, whose top of two masts with the colors of England can still be seen.

Summary of the Action: On 18 July 1545, the English fleet was anchored at the eastern entrance of the Spithead[247]. King

[244] And reported in the May 1983 issue of National Geographic Magazine.

[245] Four rings allowed four men to lift them to fed. Compare this to the cannon with conautric blades described at the siege of Chaliers in 1380, 165 years earlier.

[246] Presented in the same review of May 1983.

[247] Channel separating the Isle of Wight from Portsmouth, where the Royal Navy often carried out its naval reviews, between the two World Wars, in the twentieth century.

Henry VIII was dining with his admiral on board the MARIE-ROSE, when he learned that the French were arriving. He landed precipitately and the fleet set sail. The French Baron de La Garde, sent as a scout with four French galleys, approached and was immediately surrounded by 14 English ships. But it was soon relieved by Admiral d'Annebault, who followed with other galleys, at the moment when the rest of the English fleet was marching en masse from the roadstead of Chichester to support his vanguard. Faced with this counter-attack, the English soon retreated, pressing the land, in order to shelter under the fire of Portsmouth wall-artillery, in a roadstead protected by shoals which allowed ships to penetrate only one by one through a narrow and winding channel. This sudden retreat, at nightfall, put an end to the first phase of the battle. The French ships waited on the spot all night. In the early morning of July 19, 1545, the sea was calm. The French again took the initiative thanks to the wind that was on their side. The English ships, motionless, were violently assaulted by the French galleys who riddled them with projectiles, under the eyes of the King of England motionless on a coastal cliff. He had stayed to encourage his fleet. After an hour of fighting, the enormous English vessel, the MARIE-ROSE, sank while trying to come about from one tack to the-other side. George Carew, its captain, perished with 600 men, of whom only 30 could be saved. The GRAND-HENRI [248], John Dudley's English flagship, in spite of her 122 guns[249] and her 700 crew, was so damaged that she would have sunk as well without the help of her neighbours. Then the land wind arose, and the

[248] Henry VIII of England, of course.

[249] This made it one of the most armed ships of the time, even if some parts were of a very small caliber

English fleet at last rushed to the galleys, which, taking advantage of the same wind, returned to the open sea in order to attract the English. Shorter than the French galleys and therefore more manageable, the English roberges[250] took advantage of the fact that the galleys had no stern artillery[251] to unleash a very precise fire from all their guns on this part of their hull. Then the French admiral d'Annebault, at sea, signaled to advance in battle in the direction of the English fleet which was pursuing the galleys. Seeing this, the English fleet turned back to fall rapidly behind the reefs. Wishing to lure this fleet out of its inaccessible refuge, the French galleys made, for tactical purposes[252], three simultaneous landings in sight of the enemy. Leon Strozzi burned a fort which was beating the flanks of the French galleys. The Guard and the Colonel-General of the Infantry, Jean de Taix, seized another strongpoint, situated on the Isle of Wight. During the night of the 20th to the 21st, the wind had strengthened from the West, and the French ships threatened to run aground on the shoals of Chelsea and Owers. Providing that the English would not leave the safety of their refuge and, moreover, a storm was in danger of dispersing or, at worst, damaging the French fleet, Admiral d'Annebault gave the order to abandon the blockade of the Royal Navy, which remained on the defensive.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown. The MARIE-ROSE alone lost nearly 700 men, drowned in the capsizing and shipwreck.

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[250] "Pinnaces" in English.

[251] To cover their backs.

[252] To destroy coastal batteries.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: After the French abandoned the blockade of the Royal Navy, the English fleet, believing it to be a ruse, remained in its refuge for a long time, leaving the French to land on the Isle of Wight to ravage it with impunity.

Source & Readings ♦**Martin du Bellay**, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1569). (French account of d'Annebault's 1545 campaign and intentions). ♦**Edward Hall**, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (London, 1548). (Tudor chronicler; provides English naval narrative.) ♦**Holinshed, Raphael**, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1577). (Contains a detailed description of the battle and the sinking of the *Mary Rose*.) ♦**Loades, David**, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Scolar Press, 1992). (Best single modern overview of Henry VIII's naval administration and Portsmouth operations. ♦**Rodger, N. A. M.**, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660–1649* (HarperCollins, 1997). (Contextual analysis of the 1545 campaign and French invasion threat.) ♦**Marsden, Peter**, *Sealed by Time: The Loss and Recovery of the Mary Rose* (Mary Rose Trust, 2003). Naval-archaeological study with battlefield context. ♦**Knighton, C. S., & Loades, D.**, *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I* (Ashgate, 2011). (Includes aftermath of the 1545 engagement.)

Naval battle off Portsmouth, 18 July 1545. Bird's-eye oblique view of the Solent: the round towers of Southsea and Blockhouse in the foreground firing culverins toward the French fleet; smoke shown as fine hatched plumes. In the centre, the English carracks ***Mary Rose*** and ***Henry Grace à Dieu*** engaging French galleys—oar-banks visible, mast-top banners with fleurs-de-lis whipping in the wind. The ***Mary Rose*** shown heeling sharply and sinking to starboard, men tumbling from the rigging. French galleys firing bow-guns, starburst muzzle flashes. In the distance, the Isle of Wight coastline and the narrow strait rendered with delicate wave hatching.

Naval combat of La Rochelle.

Date of the Engagement: 19 April - 21 April 1573.

Location: Battle of Pertuis Breton. French Atlantic Coast. Geographical coordinates: 46° 10' north latitude, and 01° 10' west longitude.

Conflict: In France there is civil war: Fourth War of Religions, 1572-1573. English aid to French Protestants.

Historical Background : Charles IX de Valois was the King of France and Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt the Queen of England. La Rochelle, held by the Huguenots, was supported by the English fleet. The city was blockaded and besieged by the French.

Leaders present English ♦*English fleet*: Vice-Admiral Montgomery[253] of Cornwall.

[253] Probably a relative of the English band chief who, at the same time, travelled through Gascony at the head of Anglo-Huguenot bands in order to plunder, rape and massacre. In 1 569, the latter [Montgomery] attacked the city of Lourdes [see this section] and the Monastery of the Cannes of Trie-sur-Baïse, Gers, France, [the same whose cloister is now on display in the Cloister Museum in New York] which was outside the fortified walls of this bastide, and threw the 25 defenseless monks into a well [which still exists], under the frightened eyes of the population gathered on the walls of the bastide. Sensitive areas of the French coast were equipped with optical semaphores in order to quickly telegraph news of strategic or tactical significance. An optical semaphore was a wooden mast surmounted by a mill whose wing position, operated by a system of pulleys, indicated a letter of the alphabet. Messages were transmitted from semaphore to semaphore. Chappe's aerial or optical telegraph was made up of lines of semaphores. It was later replaced by the electric telegraph.

Troops engaged ♦*British* fleet (including some Huguenot ships): 55 warships. The embarked army included 800 Anglo-Flemish arquebusiers and 400 pikemen.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The ultimate goal of the English, beyond helping the French Protestants, was to recover Guyenne, an eternal obsession of the kings of England since the Hundred Years' War. A giant *boom* had been built by the French to prevent any contact with the English relief fleet. An engineer, Louis de Gonzague, Duke de Nevers, had the idea: 36 ships were sunk to create the foundation of the pier. Only the masts emerged. The intervals were barred by floating beams. On the morning of 18 April, the French semaphores[254] announced the arrival of an English relief fleet. The next day, the 19th, 55 sail appeared. It was the English participation in this terrible siege. the naval combat off La Rochelle / Pertuis Breton, 19–21 April 1573**,** was fought during the final phase of the first siege of La Rochelle (1572–73), when a larger English relief squadron attempted to reach the city and was driven off by the Marine Royale.

Summary of the action : On 19 April, the Royal Navy arrived in front of La Rochelle, 55 warships strong. A file of about fifteen large English warships, led by the PRIMROSE, advanced towards the port. But a French siege battery posted at Chef-de-Baye opened fire and a shot at the target went through the PRIMROSE from one side to the other. The French Marine Royale, supported by the land battery, immediately formed into a battle line of 18 ships of the line

[254] Semaphore (lit. 'apparatus for signalling'; from Ancient Greek σῆμα 'mark, sign, token' and Greek -φόρος 'bearer, carrier') is the use of an apparatus to create a visual signal transmitted over distance.

and 4 galleys interspersed between the ships. The siege batteries turned against the English fleet, which drew up in battle a quarter of a league away[255]. But night fell without the English attacking, despite their immense numerical superiority. During the night, the French fleet was reinforced by a second line charged with guarding the pier that blocked the port, and preventing any attack from the rear. This second French line was formed by Captain Clavet, who had hastily armed 22 small merchant ships into war. The next day, 16 ships from Les Sables d'Olonnes, which had seen the English fleet from afar, came up cannoning. Then it was two ships from Brouage[256]. The more the English hesitated to launch a general attack, the larger the French fleet became: 43 ships were now facing the Anglo-Huguenot fleet. Then the French galleys opened fire to "experiment with the range of their guns." The English retaliated. Finally, on the night of 21st April, the Anglo-Huguenot fleet broke off the fight and disappeared. An Anglo-Huguenot Council of War had decided so. The Huguenots were in favour of intervention and the English in favour of retreat. The fleet retreated towards Belle-Isle-en-Mer.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

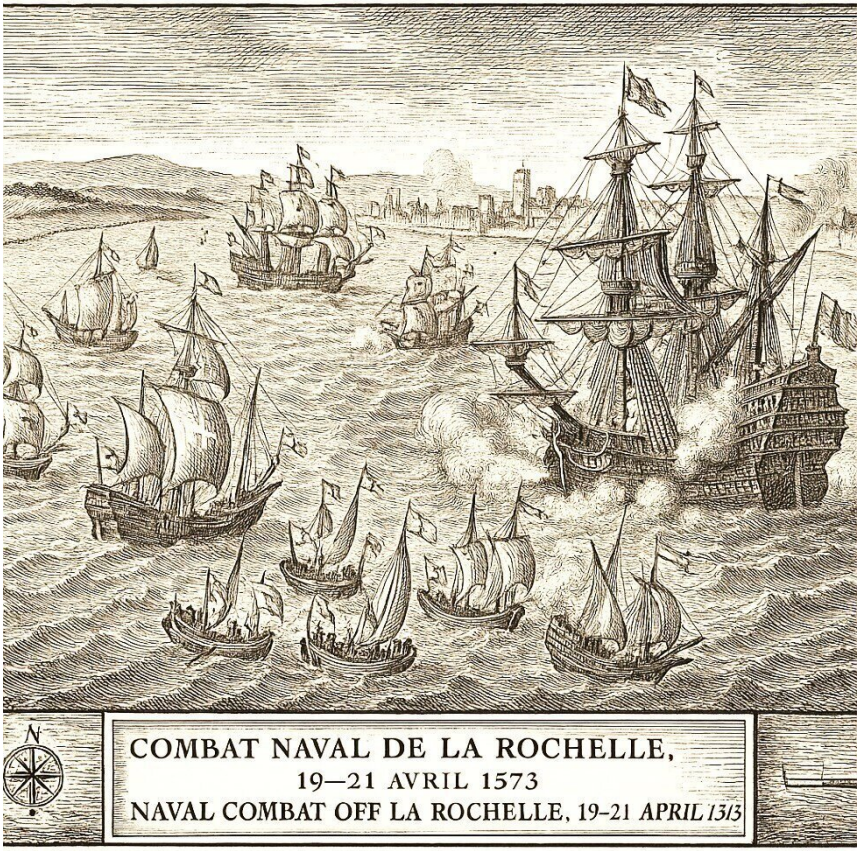
Aftermath and significance of this English defeat, La Rochelle was not rescued. At the end of the 19th century, a plaque was placed on the well, which was finally restored at the end of the 20th century. [J, Toulayrou]

[255] About 1 km; the common league of France equaled the twenty-fifth part of the length of a degree counted on a great circle, or 4,445 m.
[256] A town where a 6-year-old child named Samuel de Champlain already lived.

Source & Readings ♦**Agrippa d'Aubigné**, *Histoire universelle* (written c. 1616–1620). (Includes a detailed Protestant narrative of the siege and the April 1573 sea action in the Pertuis Breton approaches.) ♦**Agrippa d'Aubigné**, *Les Tragiques* (1616), esp. passages recalling the April 1573 fighting at sea (poetic but historically anchored). ♦**Brantôme (Pierre de Bourdeille)**, *Mémoires / Vies des hommes illustres et grands capitaines français* (eyewitness-adjacent court/army perspective on the siege and maritime blockade.) ♦**Correspondance et actes royaux de Charles IX / duc d'Anjou (Henri)**, spring 1573, in major edited collections of Valois state papers (orders to the fleet, siege administration). ♦**Gilles Banderier**, *Agrippa d'Aubigné et la bataille du Pertuis-Breton (avril 1573)*, Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Saintonge et d'Aunis, 2001/2002. (*Best single monograph* on the combat and its literary/military context. ♦**[Cartographic plate]** *Combat naval dans le Pertuis breton en avril 1573 entre les flottes anglaises et françaises pendant le siège de La Rochelle*, Ateliers de Saint-Martin-de-Nigelles, 1983 (BnF catalogued map/interpretive plate). ♦**Arlette Jouanna et al.**, *Histoire et dictionnaire des Guerres de Religion, 1559–1598*, Laffont, 1998. (authoritative reference entries on La Rochelle 1572–73, including the maritime dimension. ♦**R. J. Knecht**, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598* (Seminar Studies), Routledge (concise, reliable synthesis; good for fleet blockade and English aid.) ♦**Mack P. Holt**, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, Cambridge UP. (best modern narrative/analysis of the siege and English intervention. ♦**J. H. M. Salmon**, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*, Methuen (political and social framing of the siege and coastal war.)

Naval combat off La Rochelle / or Pertuis Breton, 19–21 April 1573, during the first siege of La Rochelle. Bird's-eye view over the Atlantic approaches between the Île de Ré and the mainland: long shallow channels, sandbanks, and tide-rips rendered with fine hatching. In the foreground, a compact Huguenot flotilla from La Rochelle—small armed merchantmen, shallops, and pinnaces with Calvinist white flags—surges out of the harbour mouth. Opposing them, the royal squadron blocks the pass: larger galleons and galleys under the fleur-de-lis, drawn in late-Valois rig with high sterncastles. Cannon-flashes shown as sharp starbursts; rolling smoke clouds in tight engraved curls; splashing shot around hulls. Mid-ground: an English relief group appears seaward, sails crowded, St George crosses visible; some ships turning away under pursuit, emphasizing the failed breakthrough. Background: the low skyline of La Rochelle—medieval towers, church spires, and seawalls—under distant siege smoke; to the left the flat green line of Île de

Ré with dunes and a tiny fort silhouette. Very fine line-work, dense cross-hatching for shadows, bright white sea highlights, period nautical cartouche at bottom with bilingual title: ‘Combat naval de La Rochelle, 19–21 avril 1573 / Naval Combat off La Rochelle, 19–21 April 1573’, plus small compass rose and simple scale bar.”



Naval battle of La Rochelle.

Date of the Engagement: October 8, 1563.

Location: The ***Pertuis Breton*** is the strait located between the Île de Ré and the Vendée coast. Cap des Aiguilles[257] is immediately at the mouth of the Charente. Geographical coordinates: 46°10' north latitude, and 01°10' west longitude.

Conflict: First War of Religions [in France], 1562-1563. English support to French Protestants.

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Charles IX de Valois the King of France. In France it was the civil war or First War of Religions, 1562-1563.

Strategic and Tactical considerations: On September 20, 1562, the Queen of England, Elizabeth Tudor-Plantagenêt, signed the *Treaty of Hampton Court* with the French Protestants. In exchange for her help, the Huguenots handed over Le Havre to her. Elizabeth was all the more interested in having Le Havre assigned to her, as she was already worried about not recovering Calais, ceded to France for only 8 years by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis [in 1559]. The English proposed to France to exchange Le Havre for Calais, but the King Charles IX of France refused and took Le

[257] Or *Pointe de l'Aiguille*.

Havre by siege. It was often a convoy skirmish rather than a fleet battle.

Summary of the Action: On October 8, 1563, a strong English squadron of 25 warships appeared in the *Pertuis Breton* while a French convoy of wine was leaving La Rochelle. The convoy immediately turned back, pursued by the English. Caught near Cape Agulhas, the last three French ships in the convoy turned to face the attacker. A French shore battery immediately went into action to come to their aid, and the three wine transports fought valiantly.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: Finally, after losing 60 men, the five leading English ships that had engaged in combat... gave up the game against the three transports of wine. A weird situation for Royal Navy warships.

Source & Readings ♦Letters and reports in BnF manuscripts and regional archives (1563). The action is documented in correspondence from the vice-admiral of Guyenne (Burye), and in a letter from the mayor of La Rochelle dated 9 Oct. 1563, plus related royal-naval administrative papers. These are cited in detail by ***de La Roncière***. ♦Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, vol. IV (Paris: Plon, 1910). Still the clearest narrative of the 8 October 1563 fight: an English squadron of ~25 warships appears in the Pertuis Breton just as a wine convoy exits La Rochelle; the rear-guard turns at the Pointe-de-L'Aiguille and, with two Breton ships, one Basque ship, and shore batteries, repulses boarding attempts and inflicts heavy casualties. De La Roncière also gives the archival trail (BnF, *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, etc.). ♦*Dictionnaire des batailles navales franco-anglaises*". (text on Archive.org). Provides a concise résumé of the same action and situates it in the First French War of Religion (1562–63) with Anglo-Huguenot naval involvement. Internet Archive.) 4. ♦***Kevin C. Robbins***, *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). The standard English monograph on La Rochelle's Atlantic economy, religion, and naval/privateering role—excellent for explaining why

English ships and Rochelais convoys collided in 1563. Brill.) ♦***Nicole Vray***, *La Rochelle et les protestants du XVIe au XXe siècle* (La Crèche: Geste, 1999). (city of La Rochelle as a Protestant stronghold and maritime actor through the Wars of Religion.) ♦Musée Rochelais d'Histoire Protestante (online notices). (its 16th-century links with northern Protestant maritime networks (England, Netherlands), i.e., the strategic backdrop to 1563 coastal actions.)

Naval action off La Rochelle, 8 October 1563, in the Pertuis Breton near the Pointe de l'Aiguille. Bird's-eye oblique view over the Atlantic channels between the mainland and the Île de Ré: shallow sandbanks, tide-rips, and a windy sea rendered with tight cross-hatching. Foreground: a French wine convoy just outside La Rochelle —merchant hulks and barques with high sterns— turning back under pursuit. The rear-guard of three ships fights a stubborn delaying action: two Breton vessels and one Basque ship shown close-hauled, guns run out, grappling hooks and boarding ladders thrown

back. Opposition: an English squadron of about twenty-five warships sweeping in from seaward with St George crosses; five larger English ships attempt to board the rear-guard, cannon-flashes as sharp starbursts, smoke in curled engraved plumes, splashes of shot around hulls. Along the right-hand shore: a low coastal battery on a rocky point (Pointe de l'Aiguille), firing into the

melee; tiny gunners and embrasures visible. Background: the low skyline of La Rochelle—church towers, harbour mouth, clustered roofs—watching the fight in view of the city. No colour, only black ink on white paper; crisp line-work, dense hatching for shadow. Decorative cartouche at bottom with bilingual title: 'Combat naval devant La Rochelle / Naval Action off La Rochelle, 8 octobre 1563', plus a small compass rose and simple scale bar."

Rouen XVI Century. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Rouen.

Date of the Engagement: 11 November 1591 - 20 April 1592.

Location: Former capital of Normandy, now capital of the Haute-Normandie Region and the Seine-Maritime department, on the Seine, 123 km N.-W. of Paris; 49° 26' North, 01° 05' East.

Conflict: In France the civil war: The Eighth War of Religion, 1585-1598, or War of the League, was raging. English participation.

Historical Background: Henry IV de Bourbon was the King of France and Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England. After the assassination of Henry III[258], Henry IV of Navarre became a candidate for the throne of France; but he had to face the League which refused a Protestant king. In mid-November 1589, Queen Elizabeth I of England sent a Scottish and an English regiment to help the King of France crush the League. In 1591, Henry IV obtained two English army corps and 6 pinnaces to campaign on the Seine. In return, Elizabeth of England reserved for herself the revenues of two cities[259] which were still in the hands

[258] Henri III [king of France from 1574 to 1589], the son of Henri II and Catherine de Medici. He was first elected King of Poland in 1573, but had left this country the following year with... *the jewels of the Polish crown*, when he had learned that the throne of France was vacant.

[259] Le Havre and Rouen. Business remained business, despite the religious motivation. The blood of his subjects was well worth this hard and fast added value.

of the Holy Catholic League. Elizabeth was clever and self-interested.

Opposing Commanders ♦Henry IV, King of France, who was challenged[260] because of his Protestant religious choice, commanded the Royal Army, which included foreign troops, including 6,000 Englishmen. ♦Catholic Leaguers: the Marquis de Villars, André de Brancas.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The city was completely blockaded; even on the seaside by a fleet anchored at Dieppe. For broad framing: any modern synthesis of Henry IV and the War of the Catholic League will place Rouen as the key Norman hinge between Paris and the Channel.

Summary of the Action: The campaign of 1591 began with several successes in favor of the King of France against the Leaguers. Chartres was taken on the 1st of April; Noyon on July 19. Nothing was left but Le Havre and Rouen to the duke d'Aiguillon, son of the duke de Mayenne[261], and governor of Normandy in his father's name. The King of France finally decided to undertake the siege of Rouen[262]. By the end of September, he had concentrated an army

[260] And who, for this reason, sought to be accepted by his people; he became, as a result, the king of France the most popular in the history of France.

[261] Charles de Lorraine, duke of Mayenne, born at Alençon [1554-1611]. Leader of the Catholic League on the death of his brother Henri de Guise who was assassinated. He was defeated at Arques-la-Bataille in 1589, and at Ivry in 1590 by Henry IV. He finally submitted to the King of France in 1595, on the condition *that he would retain his fortune and property*; which was granted *without any penalty*, in spite of the fact that his obstinacy had *caused the death of thousands of men*.

[262] Under pressure from England, which would thus have recovered Normandy, the siege was therefore intended to pay England the expenses of hiring her soldiers whom she ceded to the King of France.

of 30,000 men at the camp of Vandy, near Vouziers, bringing together 4,000 French soldiers, 14,000 reiters or lansquenets, German mercenaries raised by the Viscount de Turenne, 6,000 Swiss and as many Englishmen as Elizabeth of England had sent him, under the command of the Earl of Essex. The Queen of England Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt helped the French out of hatred of Philip II[263], and to recover Rouen and Le Havre; that is to say, in the longer term, Normandy. On November 11th, the old French Marshal Armand de Biron invested Rouen, where André de Brancas, Marquis de Villars, had carefully accumulated supplies and means of defense. The siege was still going on in January 1592, thanks to the resistance of Fort Sainte-Catherine, when the Duke of Parma, throwing his sword again into the balance, came with 10,000 footmen, 3,000 horses, 40 cannon, and 2,000 wagons, to join the Duke de Mayenne at La Fère[264] . The King of France put himself at the head of 7,000 men to make a reconnaissance in Picardy where the Leaguers had been reported. Five leagues [10 km] from Amiens, towards Folleville-sur-La-Noye, he met and caught a reconnaissance of League Cavalry led by the Baron de Rosne. On November 11th, 1591, the French army arrived[265]. To prevent Rouen from being supplied by the boats of the Leaguers, Aymar de Chaste concentrated a French royal squadron at Dieppe, composed

[263] Felipe II or Philippe II was King of Spain and its Empire **(1556–1598)**, King of Portugal **(**as Felipe I, 1580–1598**),** King of Naples and Sicily**,** Duke of Milan, and ruler of the Spanish Netherlands. He was son of Emperor Charles V (Charles Quint) and Isabella of Portugal. He reigned during the height of the *Spanish Empire*. Philipp II was known for: The ***Spanish Armada*** (1588) sent against England, and the long war against the Protestant *Dutch Revolt*. Remember the *flamenco*s, those sad songs sung by Spanish soldiers stationed in the Netherlands.

[264] City ceded by the League to King Philip II of Spain as a place of safety

[265] Commanded by Marshal de Gontaut-Biron, as specified above.

of Dutch compsters and 6 English pinnaces[266]. On the 3rd of December, the English pinnaces appeared before Rouen. On January 4th, 1592, Philip of Nassau arrived with the bulk of the Franco-Dutch fleet and 3,000 men. On the 13th, the Nassau fleet embossed 27 warships in front of the Old Palace of Rouen, but the fire of the Rouen people forced them to retreat to Croisset. On 26 February, around 07:00 in the morning, the Marquis de Villars ordered a *sortie* from Fort Sainte-Catherine by three regiments of Infantry and eight companies of Light Cavalry. The guard of the trenches was surprised. Boisrosé, with 300 horses, seized five enormous cannons which he threw into the fortification moats. Two others were set on fire and the powder burned. The besieged, unleashed, burned the camp of King Henry IV. On March 24, the surrounding wall collapsed, over a length of 70 paces[267], between the Cauchoise Gate and the monastery of Saint-Dominique. The burghers wanted to repair the breach but the French royal army pointed a few field guns at them which made a great massacre. The city was at the end of its strength and provisions. But in March, 1592, the nobles of the royal army returned home, according to custom, to go and put their private affairs in order. The disease spread among the German lansquenets[268] and especially the English of the [French] Royal Army. Soon only remained 5,000 infantrymen from all foreign contingents. On April 20, 1592, Henry IV lifted the siege of Rouen.

Casualties & Losses ♦ Huge on both sides.

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[266] The pinnace (or galléace) was usually rowed but could be rigged with a sail for use in favorable winds.
[267] 160 meters approx.
[268] Infantries.

Aftermath and significance of this Franco-English failure. Rouen remained for some time in opposition to King Henry IV. The Queen of England was greatly humiliated by not recovering Rouen and its province of Normandy.

Source & Readings ♦**Coningsby, Sir Thomas.** *Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591.* Ed. John Gough Nichols. Camden Society, 1847. (A detailed English eyewitness narrative from Essex's expedition, day-by-day operations, sorties, and camp life.) ♦**Devereux, Robert** (2nd Earl of Essex). (Correspondence and reports from the Rouen campaign in late 1591 – early 1592, in edited collections of Elizabethan state papers. Useful for English aims, logistics, and the political framing of the siege.) ♦**Contemporary Catholic League / Spanish accounts** in collections relating to Parma's 1592 relief of Rouen and the Army of Flanders (often published in *Correspondance* / *Mémoires* of Parma-era officers. These complement Coningsby by giving the relief army's perspective.) ♦**Benedict, Philip.** *Rouen During the Wars of Religion.* Cambridge University Press, 2004. (The best modern study of Rouen's civic, confessional, and military situation, including the 1591–92 siege context.) ♦**Wernham, R. B.,** Queen Elizabeth and the Siege of Rouen, 1591. *The English Historical Review* 47, no. 186 (1932): 196–214. (Classic analysis of English intervention, Essex's role, and Anglo-French strategy.) ♦**James, Alan.** *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661.* Boydell, 2004. (For the Seine/Channel communications and maritime pressure around Rouen in the League wars.) ♦**Motley, John Lothrop.** *History of the United Netherlands… to 1609.* Harper, 1895. ♦**Siege of Rouen**, 11 November 1591 to April 1592." *HistoryOfWar.org* (article). Clear operational summary handy for quick orientation and chronology.)

Siege of Rouen, 11 November 1591–20 April 1592, during the War of the Catholic League. Panorama over Rouen and the Seine: the great Gothic cathedral spire and dense slate-roofed city inside medieval walls, river curving past quays and islands. Foreground and left bank: Henry IV's royal camp in winter mud—rows of tents, wicker gabions, cannon on wooden platforms; French, English, and Dutch soldiers in morions and buff coats digging zig-zag trenches and saps toward the walls. Starburst muzzle flashes from culverins and falconets; smoke in tight engraved curls drifting over the glacis. Mid-ground: repeated sorties from the city—Catholic League pikemen and arquebusiers rushing out of a gate, clashing with besiegers amid overturned fascines, broken ladders, and scattered pikes. Right background beyond the Seine: the Spanish relief army under the Duke of Parma arriving in ordered columns—lances, standards, and wagon train—suggested as a distant but ominous pressure. Sea of roofs and church towers rendered with dense cross-hatching; the Seine with fine stipple and wake lines. "

Siege of St. Andrews

Date of faction: 1st to 30th July 1547.

Location: Port on the North Sea, 20 km S.E. of Dundee, Scotland; by 56° 20' North and 02°48' West.

Conflict: France and England had finally been at peace since June 17, 1546. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was also momentarily suspended. French participation in the War of Scottish Independence. War of Religions in Great Britain.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henry II de Valois the King of France. It was a period of transition in Europe. Francis Ist died that year and was succeeded on the throne of France by his son Henry II de Valois. Henry VIII of England also disappeared to be replaced by his son Edward VI who was soon to die of tuberculosis. It was as if the new actors were taking their places to perform the next play. One almost expected the three knocks that would mark the beginning of the theatrical performance. The *Treaty of Rouen* of 26 August 1517, between France and Scotland, renewed on 15 December 1543, obliged France to provide aid to Scotland. In 1542, at her birth, Mary Stuart had officially become *Queen of Scots* by the death of her father, James V; but his mother, Marie de Guise, ruled the Regency from 1542 to 1560. Although France and England were at peace, England nevertheless continued her underground conquest of Scotland. Thus, a pro-English sedition, fomented by London, had just broken out at the castle of St. Andrews. *The Act*

of English Supremacy, by which Henry VIII had established the *Anglican schism*[269], was only thirteen years old. What politics and the violence of arms had not been able to accomplish until then: to conquer Lower Scotland, religion was beginning to do. In fact, the Queen of Scots' affairs were not going as planned. The English or pro-English Protestant rebels at the Scottish castle of St. Andrews had hung his faithful Catholic cardinal Beaton "until death" [October 1546][270]. In addition, his fleet had been defeated by the English fleet on 7 March 1547, near Yarmouth: three Scottish ships had been sunk. The Regent of Scotland[271] therefore appealed to the Guises of France, and an expedition was dispatched to retake St. Andrews from the English [or *pro-English*] and to punish the culprits, the cardinal's assassins.

Troops engaged ♦About 2,000 French. The strength of the Scottish allies as well as those of the Anglo-Protestant garrison is unknown.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: One month of siege including 14 days of complete blockade; 14 days of intense bombardment of the town and the castle; creation of a practicable breach and ultimately a final assault by the Franco-Scots. The castle was therefore taken by storm. The French-led assault that ended the longer 1546–47 siege during the Rough Wooing and early Scottish Reformation.

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[269] In order to divorce one of his successive wives, against the will of Rome. Henry VIII later served as a model, it is said, for the character of Bluebeard.

[270] In fact, the cardinal was stabbed by 16 Protestants who broke into the castle one morning, mingling with the workers who were reinforcing the fortifications. They turned the guard back and the valets invaded the room of the Catholic prelate and murdered him in his bed. Then they hung the body, tied with sheets tied to one arm and one leg, on the top of the southeast tower. The cardinal was therefore probably dead when his body was exposed.

[271] Mary de Guise, mother of Mary Stuart.

Summary of the action: Norman Leslie[272], William Kirkcaldy and their English friends entered St. Andrews on 29 May and assassinated the Catholic cardinal. Then they seized the castle and installed a garrison there to resist the Regent. St. Andrews thus became the headquarters of the Anglo-Protestant party in Scotland and the garrison was reinforced by many volunteers. On the last day of June, a squadron of 16 French galleys, commanded by Leon Strozzi, appeared in front of St. Andrews, with a Landing Corps. The next day, July 1st, a summons was sent and rejected. Preparations for the siege were immediately set in motion. First, the French began the attack from the seafront: they shelled the city for two days in a row without interruption. Many houses were damaged. But against the castle, the patron-saint of cannoneers, St. Barbara, did not help them[273]. Several galleys were hit and galley-rowers were in the streets on the sea side; as well as a few soldiers on the land side. A galley approached under the walls and was badly

[272] Norman Leslie was a Protestant Scottish nobleman, eldest son of George Leslie, 4th Earl of Rothes, though his parentage was somewhat irregular, and he appears to have been treated as illegitimate. He held the life-office of Sheriff of Fife from 7 December 1541, after his father resigned it. His role in the assassination of Cardinal Beaton: he became the leader of a conspiratorial party opposed to the Catholic cardinal, motivated by religious differences (Beaton representing the Catholic Church, and national-international dynamics (the influence of England, Protestant sympathies, etc.). On 29 May 1546, at dawn, the conspirators entered the castle of St. Andrews and murdered Cardinal Beaton. Norman Leslie is credited with orchestrating the entry and seizure of the castle, though according to some sources he did not personally deliver the fatal blow (that is attributed to his uncle, John Leslie of Parkhill). After the murder, the conspirators held St Andrews Castle against the Scottish regent, and Norman and his associates were declared rebels. After the siege and surrender of the castle, Norman Leslie fled Scotland. Paradoxically he entered the service of the French King and died of wounds on 29 August 1554, after a heroic but fatal Cavalry charge. Norman Leslie's participation in the assassination marks him as a key figure in the Scottish Reformation-era struggle: part nobleman, part conspirator, part soldier.

[273] An English chronicler specified.

damaged but not sunk. On the 24th of July, the siege was established more seriously on the land side. The trenches and countervallation lines dug, the artillery placed in battery on the side of Kirk Abbey and St. Sauveur College. The castle of St. Andrews was crushed with mortal projectiles, and harassed with various arms, to such an extent that no one could maintain himself on the walls. Many Anglo-Protestants were wounded or killed on the walls. At Kirk Abbey, the French artillery was so high that the French gunners could see inside the walls of St. Andrews, in several sectors. But an insidious epidemic of plague began to spread in the castle. Many were affected by it and felt death invade their bodies. John Knox[274], spiritual leader, decided that this was just a *divine punishment* for those who had not done well. This put an end to the suggestions of the hesitants[275] who were beginning to fear that God wanted to punish the Protestants. On the last day of July, during the night of the 29th to the 30th, a large French battery was put into

[274] John Knox was an Englishman born in 1514 in Haddington, in the north of England but in the markets of the Scottish Lowlands. Initially a Catholic priest, he became the passionate leader of the Reformation and founded the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Captured by the French, who made him a galley slave for 19 months, he was released on the intervention and good offices of the English crown, of which he was the main agent of annexation in Scotland. In fact, despite the numerous massacres perpetrated by the English on Scottish soil, England could only succeed in annexing southern Scotland or Lowland to the British crown by spiritual force, by the spread of Protestantism in that country which divided the Lowlanders in favour of annexation. As for Northern Scotland or Highland, which remained Catholic and anti-English, its very hermetic clan system meant that it was a completely different matter. Totally impervious to the penetration of the British, the latter had to resort to massacres and finally ethnic cleansing to put an end to it, [for more information, see the Repertory under Ethnic cleansing in Scotland, or Glencoe massacre.

[275] At least of those who had converted out of opportunism. We realize to what extent the sensibilities of these recent Protestants remained "Catholic". To think that the evil that happens to man is only a well-deserved divine punishment remains a much more Catholic than Protestant reaction.

action: 14 guns, 4 of which were called *royal*[276]. The shelling began at 04:00 in the morning. By 10:00 a.m., the entire southern sector, between the tower and the blockhouse, had become a *passable breach*. This casemate [277] was then cut off from the rest of the city. Between l0:00 and 11:00, rain began; it was a shower such as had rarely been seen. It lasted an hour. It reached such violence that a man could not stay outside. The batteries fell silent. Some in the castle said that everything should be put in God's hands. Finally, after consultation and negotiation, the *Prior of Capua*, Léon Strozzi, depositary of the powers of the King of France, announced to the French that the castle would be delivered on July 30, 1547. According to the clauses of the Capitulation: ♦The lives of all in the castle would be spared, both that of the English and that of the Protestant Scots who had collaborated with the English. ♦The English prisoners of war were to be transported to France, and thence, at the cost and expense of the King of France, sent to the country of their choice except for Scotland. The treacherous Scots, i.e., the "Collaborators", would be amnestied. The French galleys returned to France on August 7 with the prisoners. They touched the continent at Fécamp, then went up the Seine to stop over in Rouen.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat; Cardinal Beaton's assassins, John Knox, Lessetey and others, were brought back to France and imprisoned in the castle of Cherbourg and Mont-Saint-Michel. As soon as the French left, Protector Somerset[278]

[276] Or *double barrels*, of large caliber
[277] Blockhouse.
[278] Edward Seymour, first duke of Somerset, was an ambitious nobleman of Tudor England who became governor of his nephew, the young King Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt. His appointment as lord protector of England initiated Protestant religious practice that sparked rebellions and led to his overthrow.

judged the moment opportune... to carry out his third invasion of Scotland. On 4 September he crossed the Tweed, a river bordering Scotland, with 18,000 men. Supported by Admiral Clinton's fleet, he sailed up the coast. On 10 September, Black Saturday in Scottish history, he defeated the Scots at the *Battle of Pinkie*, near Musselburgh. The massacre was merciless. After the battle, he advanced towards Edinburgh, burned Leith and Holyrood Abbey, but failed before the Castle[279].

Source & Readings ♦**Knox, John.** *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland***.** 1st ed. 1560s; numerous modern editions (e.g., Laing ed., 1846). (Knox was inside the castle and gives a detailed eyewitness narrative of the July 1547 French bombardment and surrender.) ♦**Lindsay of Pitscottie, Robert.** *The Chronicles of Scotland***.** 1570s; Dalyell ed., 1814. (Includes a significant account of the siege's termination and French operational methods.)♦*Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, vol. 1 (1547–1563). Bain ed., 1898. (Collects diplomatic and governmental documents on the Castilians, English support, and the French intervention. ♦*State Papers Henry VIII / Edward VI* (Scotland and the Borders). 19th-c. published calendars; contain English naval/diplomatic reactions to the French expedition and the castle's fall. ♦*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vols. 8–9***.** (HM General Register House, 1908–11). Financial and logistical entries for Arran's siege works and artillery before the French arrival. ♦**Bonner, Elizabeth.** *The Recovery of St Andrews Castle in 1547*: *French Diplomacy in the British Isles*. English Historical Review ***111 (1996): 578–598.*** (The key modern study of the *July 1547;* French naval/engineering operation and its diplomatic context.) ♦**Merriman, Marcus.** The Rough Wooings: *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551***.** East Linton: Tuckwell/Birlinn, 2000. Best single-

[279] A week later, on September 18, he set out again for England, leaving a garrison commanded by John Luttrell on the island of Ilchcolm.

volume military-political synthesis; strong on the siege's strategic role just before Pinkie. ♦**Dawson, Jane E. A.** ***John Knox.*** New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015/2016. The most authoritative modern biography; carefully reconstructs Knox's months in the castle and the July assault. ♦**Sanderson, Margaret H. B.** *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton***.** Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986. Background on Beaton's murder and why St Andrews became the flashpoint. ♦**Fawcett, Richard & Chris Tabraham.** *St Andrews Castle***.** Historic Scotland, 2001. Archaeology/architecture with clear plans of siege mines, gun positions, and the July 1547 damage.

Final siege of St Andrews Castle, 1–30 July 1547. Panorama over the Fife coast: the ruined medieval cathedral of St Andrews and St Salvator's College rising behind the sea-cliff castle. Foreground: a French Marine Royale fleet anchored in St Andrews Bay —sleek galleys and sailing warships with fleurs-de-lis standards—boats ferrying cannon, powder barrels, and engineers ashore. Mid-ground on the headland: French artillery batteries emplaced on the shore and on nearby towers (cathedral/college),

culverins and demi-cannon firing in bright starburst muzzle-flashes; dense curled smoke rendered in tight hatching. Shot splashes in the surf and chips stone from the Fore Tower and curtain wall. Inside the castle: the Protestant defenders —Scottish lairds and soldiers in bonnets, jacks, and morions— manning battered parapets, firing arquebuses, hauling a few small guns, some collapsing from plague; John Knox preaching to a knot of men near the courtyard well. Priv.Coll.

Naval battle of Saint-Malo.

Date of the Engagement: 5 May 1573.

Location: City [and port] in Brittany, located 300 km west of Paris and 80 km N.N.W. of Rennes. Geographical coordinates: 48º 39' North latitude, and 02º01' West longitude.

Conflict: In France, it was a civil war: the Fourth War of Religions, 1572-1573. English aid to French Protestants.

Historical Background: Charles IX de Valois was the King of France and Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt the Queen of England. In exchange for strongholds in France, England undertook to help the French Protestants win their case. An English fleet that had come to the aid of La Rochelle came up against a French fleet, and retreated towards Belle Isle, which it invaded.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦*French*: about 600 men on eight armed merchant ships. ♦*English*: four warships manned by about 1,200 men.

Summary of the action: Montgomery, who, since the 28th of August, had occupied Belle-Isle in the name of England, had asked for reinforcements and ammunition. Four English warships from Jersey set sail for Belle-Isle. As soon as the French sailors of Roscoff got notice, they prepared eight merchant ships, armed for war, to intercept them. The two small squadrons met abeam of St. Malo, two hours before sunset. As the English had the advantage of the

wind, they rushed upon the French, and on the 5th of May, at daybreak[280], summoned them to surrender. It was then that the French ships drew up in line of battle and boarded the English ships. The English unleashed murderous broadsides and cut the boarding hooks to get rid of the attackers. The fierce fighting lasted a day and a half; 300 killed and hundreds of wounded littered English decks[281]. Finally, on Thursday at 03:00, the Royal Navy squadron finally lowered its flag.

Casualties & Losses ♦The French had 120 killed and 160 wounded, half their strength. ♦The English, 300 killed and 400 wounded.

Aftermath and significance of this English Defeat, Montgomery was unable to resist for long in Belle-Isle and had to abandon the island to the French.

Source & Readings ♦**de Thou, Jacques-Augustin.** ***Historia sui temporis*****.** Paris, 1604–1608. (Maritime incidents during the Third War of Religion, including French Marine Royale movements on the Breton coast in early 1573.) ♦**Castelnau, Michel de.** ***Mémoires*****.** Paris, 1621. (Provides context on Crown operations and Huguenot privateering in 1572–1573.) ♦ **Agrippa d'Aubigné,** ***Histoire Universelle*****.** Geneva, 1616–1618. (Huguenot maritime actions in western France and tensions at sea during the La Rochelle campaign.) ♦**State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I.** London, 1863–. (English diplomatic dispatches about French naval activities off Saint-Malo, including reports of engagements with Huguenot/privateer elements.) ♦**Saunders, Andrew.** *Fleet and Fortress: Naval Warfare in the French Wars of Religion***.** London, 1984. (Synthesis for small-scale naval clashes, including the 1573 Saint-Malo case.) ♦**Davies, Kenneth.** *Breton Ports and the French Crown, 1562–1576. Revue d'Histoire Maritime 12 (2009). (*Saint-Malo's role as a semi-autonomous privateering centre and clashes

[280] During the night, the vessels had remained in place.
[281] As were the French decks, no doubt, even if the chronicler does not mention them.

with royal vessels in spring 1573.) ♦**Solier, Philippe.** *Saint-Malo et la mer à l'époque moderne***.** Rennes, 1998. (Study covering shipping, privateering, and naval conflicts around 1570–1575.) ♦**Olson, Sherri.** "*The Maritime Front in the Wars of Religion*." In *France and the Sea***,** ed. Dumont (2012). (Scattered maritime skirmishes supporting siege operations at La Rochelle.)

Naval action off Saint-Malo, 5 May 1573. Bird's-eye view over the granite coast and the fortified walled town with its tall keep and harbor mole. Foreground: a compact squadron of royal French ships —high-sterned sailing warships and a couple of galleys— closing in on two Huguenot/privateer vessels attempting to run for the harbor; sails strained by wind, rigging in tight engraved lines. Cannon-flashes shown as sharp starbursts; dense curled smoke in fine hatching drifting across the sea. Mid-ground: jagged rocks and tidal eddies around the approaches to Saint-Malo, a few small fishing boats scattering. On the town ramparts, defenders firing arquebuses; a damaged privateer lists, spars broken. *Priv.Coll.*

Attack on Saint-Ninians.

Date of action: Mid-August 1548.

Location: Ancient market town and port of Scotland, Stirling County. Approximate geographic coordinates: 56°07' north latitude, and 03°57' west longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War. French participation. France and England had been officially at peace since June 17, 1546.

Historical Background: Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Henry II de Valois the King of France. The French sent a fleet in June 1548 to help the Scots who were trying to resist the English annexation. On 17 June, the French fleet landed its troops unopposed in the roadstead of Leith, the port of Edinburgh. Having received reinforcements from London in August[282], Clinton switched from the defensive to the offensive.

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Vice-Admiral de La Meilleraye; Lieutenant-General Montalembert d'Esse. ♦*Royal Navy*: Admiral Thomas Seymour; Vice Admiral Clinton.

Opposing Forces engaged: ♦*Royal Navy*, 42 warships.

[282] A new squadron commanded by Admiral Thomas Seymour.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The English landing boats were repulsed by French infantry lines firing in volleys from the beaches.

Summary of the Action: After an attempt to seize Leith, the main French base in Scotland, the English fleet pounded the French defenses in preparation for a landing at Saint-Ninians, held by the Franco-Scots. But when the landing corps in longboats, under the command of Admiral Thomas Seymour, tried to make landfall, it was again carnage. Some soldiers managed to land and hold on to the ground, but without success. Suddenly there was panic. The survivors rushed to the boats, some of which were gutted by French artillery. Only a few managed to flee, leaving many dead and wounded on the beaches or in the cold waters of the North Sea.

Casualties & Losses ♦ Heavy on the English side, but without specifics.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: The action at Saint-Ninians, though small in scale, mattered for its symbolism: it signaled that the newly landed French expeditionary force was capable of challenging English strongpoints near the heart of central Scotland. Within weeks, the balance of the war swung steadily toward the Franco-Scottish alliance, leading eventually to the English evacuation of Haddington the following summer, and the withdrawal south of the border. Everywhere the English were repulsed in their attempts to annex Scotland.

Source & Readings ♦**Edward VI Chronicle** (The King's Journal). Ed. W.K. Jordan. London: 1966. (Brief notes on English operations in Scotland during the Rough Wooing.)♦**Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, 1509–1603.** Vol. I (1513–1569). London: 1898. (Dispatches concerning English garrisons and

Frenco–Scottish counter-operations in 1548.) ♦**Lettres de Henri II** (Correspondance diplomatique du règne d'Henri II). Paris: Imprimerie Royale. (Mentions French troop movements under d'Essé and their support of Scottish militias.) ♦**Marcus Merriman.** *The Rough Wooing: Mary Queen of Scots 1542–1551***.** East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000. (Details the 1548 campaign and actions around Stirling.) ♦**Gervase Phillips.** "The Anglo-Scottish Wars of the Mid-Tudor Period." *Journal of Military History*. **(**Context on small actions, raids, and fortified churchyard engagements typical of 1548.) ♦**Norman Macdougall.** ***James IV*** **and** ***James V*****.** Edinburgh: John Donald. (Background on strategic geography around the Forth and Stirling.)

In the late summer of 1548, during the Rough Wooing, the garrison of Stirling found itself threatened by renewed Franco-Scottish activity. The village and churchyard of *Saint-Ninians****, lying barely a mile south-west of Stirling, became the scene of a sudden assault when French troops under André de Montalembert (d'Essé) advanced to probe English outposts controlling the Forth crossings. The English, recently weakened by disease, famine, and desertion, held the position with mixed Tudor infantry, arquebusiers and local allies. The church — walled, towered, and used as a fortified post — was contested at close quarters. Arquebus fire cracked across the churchyard wall while pikes met in the narrow ground between the graves. Several English companies attempted to hold the enclosure, but French and Scots, advancing in dense formation, burst through the cemetery gate and forced hand-to-hand fighting among the tombs.***

Naval raid on Saint-Pierre.

Date of faction: 31 July 1549.

Location: Guernsey Island, Channel Islands, English Channel. Today Saint-Peter-Port. Geographical coordinates: 49°27' north latitude, and 02°32' west longitude.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War: French participation. France and England were officially at war on August 8th, 1549, when France declared war on England. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V was temporarily suspended until 1551. French naval raid on Saint-Pierre (Guernsey), 31 July 1549, carried out during the French seizure of Sark and the wider "Rough Wooing" sea war.

Historical Background: Henry II de Valois was the King of France and Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. The *Regent of Scotland,* the Frenchwoman Marie de Guise, had launched an appeal to France, which had sent another Expeditionary Force in June 1548. This is, in fact, what reignited hostilities, for England would have preferred to settle Scotland's fate without the French coming to help them.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: *Surprise* was the major element in the success of this attack. But how could the English squadron sleep when the neighboring island had just been invaded by the French ?

Opposing Commanders ♦*French*: Léon Strozzi (Prieur de Capoue), François Breuil (land commander) and Captain Poulain.

Summary of the Action: While a French squadron had just occupied Sark and fortified it, the squadron of galleys surprised the port of Guernsey where the English squadron was sleeping. Most of the English officers were ashore. Under the broadsides of the French artillery, the English ships sank one after the other. The English flagship La MIGNONNE[283] was about to succumb in its turn, and the English sailors to be massacred, when the castle of Guernsey, waking at last, began to bombard the French ships. The cannons of the castle, in an elevated position, could be heard throughout the island. A French galley was badly damaged and had to be towed to the island of Sark. Another carried the French wounded to Rouen.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

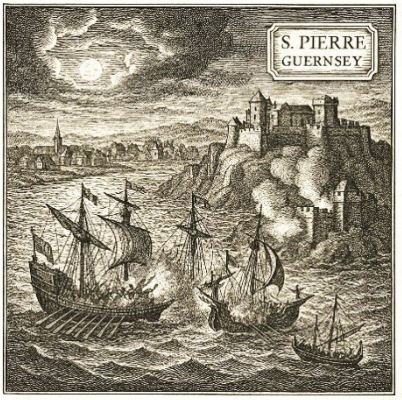
Aftermath and significance of this combat: After this raid, the French squadron of galleys entered the bay of Boulay, in Jersey. A landing company marched on the village of Trinidad where it burned the house of the "Sworn Justiciar". Then the squadron headed for Saint-Malo where it stopped for a break.

Source & Readings ♦**de Carteret, Allan R.** *The Story of Sark: The Island Where Time Stands Still.* London: Peter Owen, 1956. Ch. 2 gives the fullest narrative of the 31 July landing on Sark and the same-night raid on St Peter Port, naming Strozzi, Poulain, *La Mignonne*, and Castle Cornet's role. ♦**Montmorency–d'Estampes,** Correspondence (Aug.–Sept. 1549)**,** printed in de Carteret's appendices. (Letters about provisioning Breuil's garrison on Sark after

[283] La MIGNONNE (The Cute Girl). It should be remembered that at that time, many ships of the Royal Navy bore French names, the mother tongue of King Edward VI of England, as well as of his father Henry VIII Tudor. The King gave his ships the names and nicknames of his mistresses. The MIGNONNE had been christened by Henry VIII, creator of the Royal Navy). Until then, the war fleet had been supplied by the Cinque Ports of England.

the raid/occupation.) ♦Secondary (focused on the 1549 Channel Islands raid/occupation). ♦**Francis, K. H.** *Rabelais and the Channel Islands*, 1960. (The 1549 French force of convicts under Poulain/Breuil attacking and fortifying Sark, situating the Guernsey raid in the same expedition.) ♦**Jerripedia** (Channel Islands historical encyclopedia). The Militia and the military role of Jersey in history. ♦**1549 French expedition** under François Breuil with Strozzi's galleys after operations around Sark/Guernsey. ♦**Corbett, Julian S.** *The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present*, vol. 1. London, 1898. (Background on mid-Tudor Channel warfare and French galley strategy. ♦**Waterhouse, R.** *(and A. A. N. A. / Channel Islands military studies). Tudor Bronze Guns of the Channel Islands.(*Technical/military backdrop on Castle Cornet and island coastal artillery culture that explains Guernsey's defensive edge in 1549.)

Naval raid on Saint-Pierre, Guernsey, night of 31 July 1549. The rocky islet fortress of Castle Cornet dominating the harbour, its Tudor-era gun platforms firing outward with sharp starburst muzzle-flashes and tight curled smoke in dense hatching. Foreground: a French galley squadron —sleek Mediterranean galleys with lateen sails and banks of oars, fleurs-de-lis standards snapping— sliding in under moonlight to surprise the anchored English ships. One galley grapples alongside the English vessel 'La MIGNONNE' (name small on the stern), boarding ladders up, sailors in morions and puffed doublets scrambling. Mid-ground: English crews rushing back from shore in longboats; arquebus flashes along the decks, splashes of cannon-shot around hulls. Sea rendered with fine cross-hatching and swirling wakes. Background: the clustered slate-roof town of Saint-Pierre Port and a church spire on the hillside, calm lights behind the battle. *Priv.Coll.*



Battle and siege of Saint-Quentin.

Date of the Engagement: 2 - 10 August 1557. The *siege* began **2 August 1557** and the city fell **27 August 1557**; the *set-piece battle* to relieve the place was fought on **10 August.**

Location: Ville de France, department of Aisne, on the Somme; 40 km from Laon. Geographical coordinates: 49°51' North latitude, and 03°17' East longitude.

Conflict: The war between France and the Empire of Charles V had resumed in 1551. Charles V had abdicated in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand at the head of the Holy Roman Empire[284]. England, following her usual strategy, joined the one who seemed the most certain winner, the empire of Charles V, which included Spain and its empire.

Historical Background: Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henry II de Valois the King of France. We must be aware that in order to increase his power, Philip II of Spain[285] had

[284] An empire which, as some cynics of the period said, had nothing holy, nothing Roman, nothing of an empire.

[285] Felipe II (21 May 1527 – 13 September 1598) was the eldest son of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal. He inherited the Duchy of Milan in 1540, vacant since the death of Francis II Sforza. Between 1554 and 1556, his father began to gradually abdicate his various titles, Philip then became King of Spain, Naples and Sicily, as well as sovereign of the Netherlands. He also became King of Portugal and the Algarves in 1580, the first of the House of Habsburg following the extinction of the House of Aviz, thus reuniting the Iberian crowns under his authority. He was king *de jure uxoris* of England from 1554 to 1558 through his marriage to Mary Tudor. **"**King *de jure uxoris***"** is a Latin expression meaning *"king by right of his wife."* It refers to a man who becomes king *not by his own*

invited England, from which he had married Mary I Tudor-Plantagenêt. It was therefore for no other reason than *to join the parish* that England joined the Empire against the French. This proved to be a mistake, and she ended up losing Calais, which was all she had been able to keep of her medieval empire on the continent. Philip II had gathered German adventurers and English troops with artillery. France was thus invaded by an allied army. This army[286] moved (at the end of July) towards Rocroy, which it tried in vain to surprise, then arrived unexpectedly on August 2nd in front of the fortified town of Saint-Quentin.

Opposing Commanders ♦*Anglo-Spaniards*: Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. The Earl of Pembroke, Clinton, and Grey commanded the British army. ♦*French*: Admiral de Coligny was in charge of the French garrison of Saint-Quentin. The Constable of Montmorency commanded the French.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*Spanish, Germans* and *Flemings*: 35,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. *English*: 12,000 men and a large artillery. The English arrived on August 8. From this battle and siege, an English contingent joined the Spanish against the French. ♦*French garrison of Saint-Quentin*: Varlet de Gibercourt, mayor, had only one company of 40 cannoneers, 40 archers; 15 cannons of all calibres in poor condition, and 200 men of the Bourgeois Militia. Admiral de Coligny threw himself into Saint-Quentin with 250 men to support the siege.

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hereditary right, but because *he is married to a woman who holds the crown in her own right* (*queen regnant*). By marrying the reigning queen, he acquires the title of king, though his actual powers vary depending on the laws and customs of the kingdom.

[286] Composed of Flemings, Spaniards, Germans and English.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Upper and Lower Town were united by a wall built near the Upper Town seven centuries earlier [287]. Round or square towers 100 meters from each other. Rectilinear curtain walls. Six gates or posterns allowed entry into the city. Strategically speaking, Philip II did not take advantage of this victory, which opened the way to Paris, for the reasons explained in the *Aftermath and significance* section. The Duke de Guise therefore had leisure to return from Italy and take Calais from the English in retaliation for their rash intervention[288].

Summary of the action: On August 2nd, the bulk of the Spanish and German cavalry marched towards the *Chaussée de Rouvroy*.[289] The city was quickly invested while some Spanish bands impetuously attacked the outer boulevard[290] established in front of the old wall of the Faubourg d'Isle. This boulevard had no parapet along the ditch, The Spaniards seized the houses that dominated the embankment of the boulevard [defense work], and poured down on the defenders a rain of projectiles that killed many French militiamen. Finaly the latter withdrew into the old walls, abandoning the boulevard to the Spaniards. On the evening of August 3rd, the French launched a counterattack against the Spanish Boulevard and the nearby houses that were being used as fire support. The Spanish began to relent, then counterattacked and managed to

[287] Between 884 and 885. One can easily imagine the state of disrepair it was!
[288] In fact, since the Boulogne affair, the French had been waiting for hostilities to rekindle with the English to take from them the last city they still possessed on the continent.
[289] A "chaussée" is an embankment road, a causeway.
[290] It should also be remembered that the word ***boulevard*** referred to a defensive structure. Later, when these lines of defense were demolished and the cut stones recovered by the town's burghers to build houses, they were replaced by wide, tree-lined streets which kept the name of boulevard.

drive the French back. A sortie the next day was no more successful. On August 8, the English arrived. they set up their tent camp between Raulcourt and Florimont. The besieged were discouraged by their failures on the 3rd and 4th. Admiral de Coligny sent out in the evening 700 invalids and old men who could not participate in the defense or the earthworks. These unfortunates were horribly ill-treated while crossing the Anglo-Spanish lines. Useless cruelty on the part of Coligny because the food reserves did not require such a sacrifice[291]. During the night of the 8th to the 9th, the Allies approached their breach-batteries, and put them in position at point-blank range in front of the old wall of the Faubourg d'Isle. Believing that it was a sape, Coligny had the artillery evacuated from the walls of the faubourg, then he had all the houses booby-trapped with inflammable materials. At dawn, the Spanish batteries began firing against the old wall. Coligny then ordered his troops to withdraw in good order towards the Porte d'lsle and set fire to the evacuated houses. A Scottish artificer who was fighting for the French, was put in charge of this incendiary mission. The Porte d'lsle was walled up; but a deposit of old gunpowder, which was in a tower flanking this gate, exploded by accident, opening a breach 12 meters wide. However, the fire in the suburb prevented the Allies from noticing this, and in less than an hour the breach was itself walled up and plugged.

[291] The XLII Tactical Regime of the Platonic philosopher Onassander, [of the first century A.D. II wrote a treatise on Strategy], prescribed that the besiegers should have as many useless mouths as possible introduced into the besieged fortresses in order to rapidly exhaust the stocks of provisions. The approach was therefore in accordance with military tactics, although contrary to the humanism of the time.

Battle of the St. Lawrence *(August 10)*[292]

Seeing that the supply of food to the city was impossible by trickery, the French Relief Army of the Constable of France forced the English, the Flemish and the Spanish to lift the siege. On 9 August, the Constable's 4,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 15 artillery pieces were concentrated at La Fère. The besieging army covered the plain of Remicourt, from the road to Cambrai to the Somme River, in front of Rouvroy, Morcourt, Remaucourt, and Omissy. The Artillery was concentrated between the Remicourt tree and the Porte Saint-Jean. Around the Faubourg Saint-Jean, German and Spanish corps had taken up positions. In the centre of the plain, behind Remicourt, the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Orange, and, on 12 August, Philip II himself. The Flemings and Walloons[293] were encamped on the heights of Cépy, towards Florimont. Beyond Raucourt stood the English Infantry, for the most part, Scottish, Irish and Welsh. At Gauchy, the English Cavalry, and, on the heights of the Faubourg d'lsle, an English battery. On the 10th of August, the French army[294] reached the heights of Gauchy, in sight of the allied army, which was three times as numerous. The French Connétable [constable], who thought he was a brilliant strategist, boasted that he wanted to teach the Allies a good lesson. But he was going to get a very hard time. Thinking only of attacking, he overthrew and knocked over two enemy companies posted

[292] The 1st of August was St-Lawrence day.
[293] Commissioned by the Count of Egmont.
[294] 900 gendarmes, 1,000 light-cavalries and mounted arquebusiers, 15 French infantry companies and 22 German companies, 15 artillery pieces.

at the mill of Gauchy, and blocked 14 allied units in the Faubourg d'Isle. Arriving on the banks of the Somme river, opposite the village of Raucourt, the French Constable placed his Artillery in battery along the left bank and shelled the camp of the Duke of Savoy over the Somme River, forcing the latter (Philibert[295]) to abandon it. Towards noon, the Duke de Nevers, at the head of the Gendarmes, came to reconnoitre the plains of Neuville to gather information, and perceived the encirclement. Seeing the overwhelming numerical superiority of the allied troops, the Duke de Nevers did not dare to attack without orders from his superiors with his only Cavalry unit and preferred to warn the French Constable who, finally, ordered the retreat, satisfied that he had accomplished his mission of introducing relief into the city. But it was too late to avoid the battle. The French Army had been ordered to march. It advanced in good order towards the Bois de Jussy which could offer a cover against the attacks of the Allied Cavalry. Seeing this, the Spanish squadrons of Cavalry enveloped the French Army more closely. The Count of Egmont[296] (ally) charged with 2,000 Walloon Cavalry and assaulted the French flank, while the troops of Brunswick attacked the other flank with 2,000 mounted arquebusiers. The Count d'Enghien counter-attacked but could not

[295] Son of Charles III (1504-1553), Emmanuel-Philibert of Savoy was barely eight years old when French and Swiss troops occupied, for a period of twenty-three years, almost the entire Savoyard state with the exception of Nice, Vercelli and the Aosta Valley. An occupation that is, in reality, a pure and simple annexation. At the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559: his States were restored to him and he married Margaret of France, daughter of the King of France, Francis I. However, he had to concede to the Swiss, by the treaties of Lausanne (in 1564) and Evian (in 1569), the country of Vaud and the part of the Chablais near Lake Geneva.

[296] *Lamoral, Comte d'Egmont, Prince de Gavere* (1522 – 1568) was a general and statesman in the Spanish Netherlands.

prevent the confusion from spreading through the ranks of the French rearguard. An incident further aggravated the already precarious position of this French rearguard: a company of English Light Horses[297], realizing that the French, in a bad position, were in danger of losing the battle, turned back in the middle of the battle, deserted and *passed entirely to the Allies*. In vain did the French officers try to retain them. They remained deaf to all appeals, seeing the defeat coming and considering the terrible reprisals that were going to be inflicted on them by their compatriots. To redeem themselves and clear their name, they pushed their zeal to the point of attacking an isolated unit of French Cavalry that had moved away from its Army Corps. This act of treachery made them absolutely blameless on the part of their monarch. In the meantime, the French Army had advanced in good order, but it was attacked on all sides by overwhelming forces at the exit of the village of Essigny-le-Grand. Faced with this impetuosity, the French lined up and withstood the initial shock and the murderous charges that followed one another for four long hours. The Allies then resorted to artillery to break into these human squares which disintegrated; and it was a hellish carnage until the evening. All the French guns remained in the hands of the Allies except for two which could be hauled and brought back to La Fère. The King of Spain, Philip II, arrived on the 12th in the most overflowing joy. Unfortunately for the anti-French coalition, the Spanish King did not give the order to march immediately on Paris in order to exploit this victory,

[297] English mercenaries in the pay of France. Le Comte François de Bourbon, comte d'Enghien (1519 – 1546) was a French military commander, governor and *prince du sang* (prince of the royal blood) in the reign of King Francis I of France.

while the French Army was destroyed and the road to Paris wide open. This defeat threw consternation among the besieged of Saint-Quentin. The King of France, Henry II, himself was extremely troubled by this. In fact, through their prolonged resistance, the people of Saint-Quentin had given their king enough time to raise a new army. Since its arrival on August 8, a large French battery had been positioned on the other side of the Somme River, on the heights of the Faubourg d'Isle, directly opposite a Spanish battery. These cannons were shooting "*en écharpe*"[298] the curtain wall of Rémicourt, forbidding Allied soldiers and sappers-workers to approach it. On August 15, the French brought forward old out-of-service barges, filled them with earth, and ran them aground on top of each other in order to reinforce the bottom of the walls. French countermines attacked the Allied mines[299] in five or six directions. On August 12, the Allied Coalition had opened covered trenches, one in the direction of the Tour-à-l'Eau [Water Tower], and the others further north, under the rain of cobblestones that the inhabitants threw at them in vain. The Spanish were soon able to establish new breach batteries to demolish the old sandstone walls. From the Porte St. Jean to the Tour-à-l'Eau, for only 1,000 meters, a single gigantic[300] Spanish battery of 50 guns was fired. The Flemings beat the North and the English the West. Seeing that these bombardments were rapidly transforming its walls into rubble and gravel,

[298] *En écharpe* in this military context means firing *obliquely along the length* of a wall; it is almost an *enfilade fire* to prevent Allied assaults against the city walls.
[299] Mines are tunnels, the first meaning of the word mine. The current meaning (explosive charge) was derived from this, because the purpose of these mine-tunnels was to bring down the walls, either by undermining the subsoil or by means of an explosive charge.
[300] Gigantic in the light of the sixteenth century. But it was a far cry from the 5 or 10,000 guns that the French or the Germans lined up at the Battles of the Marne or Verdun.

Admiral Coligny[301] asked the Duke de Nevers for reinforcements at La Fère. The latter sent 300 arquebusiers, who, taking advantage of a *diversionary attack* by French Cavalry, tried not without difficulty to enter the city; only 120 succeeded. In despair, Gaspard de Coligny expelled 600 new useless mouths, which were horribly abused by the besiegers. The quarters and walls of I'Isle and Remicourt collapsed one after the other. On 26 August, the Allied artillery stopped its shattering bombardment at around 14:00. The silence fell, heavy, and even frightening. While the French tried to barricade the destroyed walls, the Allied Coalition exploded mines. On the 27th, the bombardment resumed, dense, from dawn until 2:00 p.m., in order to widen the breaches. The dead littered the streets of the city. The men locked the women and children in cellars, to spare them death or rape, and climbed onto the ruins of the fortifications, for the final assault was about to begin. Around 2:00 p.m., the bombardment ceased, and the assault columns crossed the *covered-ways,* and the ditches filled with the rubble of the walls. A column rushed towards the Convent of the Jacobins[302]; it was a failure. The Germans were almost exterminated by the French. Another column attacked the Tour-à-l'Eau and the third towards the Porte-d'lsle. The French repulsed this first assault. But new columns of Allied Infantry set out. The battle raged again, finally the Tour-Rouge was taken by the Spanish and Coligny captured. An hour later, the city fell into the hands of the Coalitions, who plundered every house with great care. Sections of the walls still

[301] Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) was a French nobleman and admiral, assassinated during the St.Bartholomew's Day Massacre.
[302] Spanish troops reinforced by 1,500 Germans in the pay of the English and under their command.

resisted. But the French resistance fighters who did not want to capitulate were caught from behind, "à revers", and put to the sword. Saint-Quentin finally succumbed after a month of resistance. Everything was looted, burned and the women raped to the last, without any opposition from the Allied Headquarters.

Losses and Casualties: ♦From 5,000 to 8,000 French perished in the battle known as the Battle of the St. Lawrence[303]. The French Constable was taken prisoner by the Spaniards.

Aftermath and significance of this French Defeat, the capitulation of Saint-Quentin was signed on 27 August 1557. But Philip II did not take advantage of this victory, and, instead of marching on Paris and bringing France to its knees, he contented himself with ravaging the region, and then returned to Brussels on October 15 or 20[304]. The Duke de Guise, recalled from Italy, arrived by forced march, and, in January, 1558, took Calais from the English in retaliation. This victory was followed by the capture of Guines, Thionville, Charlemont, Dunkirk and Bergues-Saint-Winoc. Spain

[303] It is said that, during the siege, the Spanish artillery destroyed by mistake a church dedicated to St. Lawrence. Philip II, very superstitious, vowed to erect a monastery (San Lorenzo del Escorial, 1562-1584) in honor of this saint, and gave it the shape of a grill, in memory of the torture of this holy man. The monastery then became a royal palace. As said elsewhere, the name Escorial comes from escorias (slag), because the place called was an old iron mine. According to others, he called the monastery so because of his victory on the feast day of St. Lawrence.

[304] Whatever the circumstances, victory can never have great repercussions if it is not exploited" by a lawsuit. "Only then does Ton reap most of the trophies that give victory its consistency." Carl von Clausewitz, On War, chap. XII, p. 285. Thus, the destruction of Germany by the Russians and the Americans at the end of the Second World War was more effective for future peace than the simple occupation of the Ruhr by the French at the end of the First World War. The occupation of the Ruhr enraged the Germans, while the destruction of the country led to lasting pacifism and a strong need for democracy.

finally signed the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambraisis*, and on December 18, 1559, Saint-Quentin was evacuated and restored to France.

Why, then, after this victory of Saint-Quentin, did not Philip II of Spain set out on the road to Paris, thus losing the benefit of his victory? In fact, it was out of *jealousy*. He feared to increase the prestige of the Duke of Savoy, the great victor of the Battle of Saint-Quentin. But this fact (sacrificing his own success out of jealousy) was not a unique case in the life of this surprising King. Later, after the battle of Lepanto against the Turks, Philip II did not attack Constantinople so that his half-brother, Don Juan of Austria, bastard of Charles V, who officially commanded the Christian fleet[305], would not obtain universal glory by seizing the Ottoman capital. The bastard Don Juan of Austria had been conceived by Barbara Blomberg, daughter of Artisan, under special circumstances: when Charles V [Charles Quint] lost his late wife Isabella of Portugal, who had died seven years earlier, he remained chaste and pure ever since. But the flip side of this solitude was that the Emperor was sinking irresistibly into "melancholy", the hereditary disease of the Habsburgs[306]. His entourage then decided to put in his arms a common woman, who would give him back happiness and *joie de vivre*[307]. It was then that they pushed into his bed that absolutely irresistible creature, Barbara Blomberg, to whom the Emperor Charles V succumbed *only once*; which proves the exceptional strength of his character and the hold of Catholic prohibitions on his mind. Barbara Blomberg did not see him again, but, very wise, immediately granted the hospitality of her generous body to several

[305] However, the real leader was Andrea Doria. And so it was that the Ottoman Empire was not dismantled after this battle.
[306] Today we would say neurasthenia.
[307] Any woman of the aristocracy would have been very eager to raise the sovereign's morale in this way, but this would have had different implications at the level of the Court, in particular jealousy. On the other hand, using an ordinary woman involved nothing more than physical pleasure.

gentlemen of the Imperial Court. Nine months later, she gave birth to a boy[308]. She made this known to the Emperor Charles V [Quint], and, as genetic research was not yet known, she was able to have him recognized as the illegitimate son of the Emperor Charles V who reigned *over an empire on which the sun never set.* This child became Don Juan of Austria. When Don Juan was born, Charles V had also fathered a legitimate heir named Philip, who became the famous Felipe II of Spain, the jealous man we have just mentioned. Already a widower and father of a child named Don Carlos, Charles V had Don Juan brought up at court with Don Carlos and Alexandre Farnese[309]. Then, in 1556*, the great Emperor of the West Holy Roman Empire* and *Spanish World Empire* withdrew, embittered, to a Spanish monastery (at Yuste) and abdicated two years later. He had spent the whole of his reign exhausting the forces of his Empires in his struggle against the French, against the Protestant princes of his Empires, and against the Turks, whom Francis I had invited to attack the Holy Roman Empire from the rear, in order to relieve France. The Turks thus entrenched themselves in Europe, in the Balkans.

Source & Readings ♦**Coligny, Gaspard de.** *Mémoires / correspondence on the defense of Saint-Quentin (August 1557).* (Surviving letters and later memoir materials are foundational for the internal French view of the siege and its logistics.) ♦**Gomart, Charles.** *Siège et Bataille de Saint-Quentin (1557).* (19th-century local compilation, still useful for topography and day-by-day siege detail.) ♦**Parker, Geoffrey.** *Philip II* (and/or *The Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II*). (Strong on Habsburg strategy, the Savoyard command, and why Saint-Quentin mattered in Philip's wider war aims.) ♦**Kamen, Henry.** *Philip of Spain.* (Narrative of the campaign and coalition army (Spanish, Netherlandish, English) with attention to command structure.) ♦**Oman, Charles.** *A History of the Art of*

[308] At the beginning of the year 1547.
[309] Born from a *chance meeting* between Margaret of Parma and Charles V while still a teenager.

War in the Sixteenth Century. ♦**Nolan, Cathal J.** *Saint-Quentin (1557)* in *The Age of Wars of Religion / encyclopedic volumes on early-modern warfare.* (Handy for numbers, order of battle, and concise synthesis.) ♦**Redworth, Glyn.** "Where Were the English? Antoon van den Wijngaerde … and the 1557 Siege of Saint-Quentin." In *In Exile, Diplomacy and Texts…* Brill, 2020. (Focused study of English participation and visual/propaganda angles tied to the siege.)[310] ♦**Specialist context:** surveys of the *Italian War of 1551–1559* for campaign-level framing and aftermath (Cateau-Cambrésis).

Campaign of Saint-Quentin, Picardy, 2–10 August 1557. Bird's-eye oblique panorama over the Somme valley and the walled town of Saint-Quentin. Foreground: Habsburg-Spanish siege lines tightening around the city—trenches and zig-zag saps, wicker gabions, earth batteries with culverins and demi-cannon firing starburst muzzle-flashes; dense curled smoke in fine cross-hatching. Spanish tercios, Netherlandish infantry, and a small English contingent shown by distinct standards (fleurs-de-lis absent; St George crosses and Habsburg banners). Mid-ground left: the relief battle of 10 August unfolding in marshy meadows south of the town—French cavalry and gendarmes under Anne de Montmorency struggling through reeds and causeways toward a bridge or narrow ford; Spanish/Netherlandish pike blocks holding firm, arquebusiers pouring volleys; a decisive cavalry charge led by Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy and the Count of Egmont cutting off the French retreat. Captured French banners and the constable being unhorsed hinted at in miniature. Mid-ground right: inside Saint-Quentin, Admiral Coligny's defenders on battered ramparts, firing arquebuses from breaches; townsfolk hauling stones, barrels, and fascines to repair gaps. Background: the town's collegiate church and dense slate roofs, walls scarred by shot; the Somme looping past fields and wind-bent trees. Sea-of-tents command camp with Philip II's

[310] In this book, Glyn Redworth concludes that when we combine the written and visual evidence, the old picture of a sulky, useless English contingent must be substantially revised. The English force at Saint-Quentin was small compared to the Spanish and German elements and not yet a modern standing army, but it:**1-**arrived early in key specialist roles (sappers), **2-**took significant risks and casualties, **3-**contributed to the storming of Saint-Quentin and to the refortification of Ham, and, **4-**played an important symbolic role in demonstrating Philip II's authority over his new kingdom. In short, *"Where Were the English?"* answers its own question: they were right there —digging, besieging, storming, rebuilding— and the combination of text and image shows they were far more committed and effective than later English-centric historiography has allowed.

pavilion visible beyond the batteries. Fine, sharp line-work, period-accurate armor (morions, buff coats, pikes, early firearms), dramatic Renaissance battle energy.

Coup-de-main on Sandwich.

Date of faction: 28th August to 1st September 1457.

Location: Former port on the English Channel, Kent County, on the River Stour[311]. Sandwich was one of the *Cinque Ports* of England. Today, the city is 3 km from the sea because of silting. 51° 17' North; 01° 20' East.

Conflict: Civil War of the Roses in England [dynastic crisis].

Historical Background: Charles VII de Valois was the King of France and Henry VI Lancaster-Plantagenêt the King of England. The humiliations of the English army at the end of the Hundred Years' War had made King Henry VI unpopular. His successive defeats on the Continent had contributed to demoralization and indiscipline in England, where hordes of old soldiers returned to civilian life cared little for respecting the authorities in place and getting back to work for a living. The Lancastrians-Plantagenets[312] ruled in England through Henry VI, who was unpopular for having lost the Hundred Years' War. Richard of York therefore claimed the throne of his cousin Henry VI. During the thirty years of this war, the Yorks and the Lancastrians governed in turn, according to the fortune of arms. In France, too, a civil war raged from 1464

[311] The medieval French word *stour* meaning "tumult, battle, confusion" could be a factor in this river-name.
[312] The Lancastrian Plantagenets displayed the red rose on their arms. Richard of York had the white rose on his.

onwards between Louis XI and the great nobility, led, among others, by the ambitious Duke of Burgundy [313], Charles the Bold, and by the Duke of Brittany, Francis II. The King of France supported the English party of Lancaster [Tudor] and the House of York received the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English*: unknown. ♦The *French* were commanded by the Grand Seneschal of Normandy. The French Squadron by Pierre de Bréze (Grand Sénéchal of Normandie), Guillaume Cousinot (Bailli of Rouen), Jean Giresme (Master of the Crossbowmen of France) and Jean de Tarmes (Capitaine de Mer; Naval Captain).

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*: unknown. ♦*Franco-Castilian* fleet: 60 ships.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Surprise-raid. This French expedition was intended to strike Sandwich, the base of operations of the Yorkist party, the loss of which would have resulted in the isolation of Warwick's soldiers at Calais.

Summary of the action : On August 25, 1457, the French Expeditionary Corps left the anchorage of La Fosse-de-Leure. On Sunday 28th, around 06:00 in the morning, the French fleet appeared in front of Sandwich: 1,700 men landed 15 km from the city, the rest remained on board the ships in order to blockade Sandwich by land and sea. The landing column marched in three "battalions" to an English entrenched boulevard which constituted an outpost. The

[313] The Duke of Burgundy had been one of the causes of the prolongation of the Hundred Years' War by allying himself with the English.

French vanguard of 600 men, commanded by Gaillard de Genouillac, attacked the fortifications and captured them after a fierce fight[314]. The Landing Corps arrived at the Great Bulwark[315], at the south-east corner of the town in the direction of the Deal. There the French rushed to attack the stone walls. The fight was fierce; with many dead. The Great Bullwark was captured and the surviving English fled into the town. The French pursued them and finally linked up with a second assault force that had advanced along the coast. Everything went according to the plans of the French. The rearguard, commanded by the bailiff of Evreux, kept its fighting position in order to repel any English counterattack that might occur on the side of the rear plain. It was at this moment that the French squadron entered the port. A large English carrack and 3 warships tried to offer some resistance; but the Grand Seneschal, who had 13 ships at his disposal*, ordered them to cease fire*. Curiously, they did. Then the English sailors laid down their arms and abandoned their ships in exchange for the promise of their lives. On land, it was also an assault. The English soldiers retreated from strongpoint to strongpoint until the gates of the city were immediately closed after them. These battles had cost them 500 killed. Then they returned with the neighboring militia who arrived as reinforcements, putting the French greatly outnumbered. The French conquered nine gates of the city and hoisted their standards on the walls. For ten hours, the French, who had not been able to feed

[314] At the time of the assault, the French revived the order not to touch either the women or the churches*, on pain of immediate death*. The memory of this respect for the people, so unusual in the Middle Ages, led to the twinning of Sandwich and Honfleur [where Pierre de Brézé came from] four centuries later, in 1957. As a sign of the times, respect for the civilian population was celebrated on this occasion.
[315] Fortification-blockhouse with two floors crowned by formidable cannons.

themselves since the morning, resisted exhausting and incessant counterattacks. Five days later, seeing that the city was now too strongly pressed, the French chiefs at last gave the order to fall back to the port in order to re-embark the prisoners and the booty on the prize-ships and those of the squadron. they had had five long days to collect booty. The English carrack, whose draught prevented it from being towed into the sea at that hour of the day, was set on fire.

Casualties & Losses ♦The *English* losses of life exceeded a thousand killed; the prisoners for ransom were numerous and the booty very important. The English also lost 25 ships, three of which were very large. ♦*French*: Losses are not known. They probably number in the hundreds. According to the chronicles of both nations, the French soldiers behaved in a chivalrous manner. Not a woman or a church was violated. The massacre of the population was forbidden by the command on pain of serious sanctions (death). On the other hand, the mayor was killed, the rich ransomed, and the goods of great value plundered; which was the purpose of the raid.

Aftermath and significance of this Anglo-Portuguese defeat: On Thursday, September 1st, the French weighed anchor with 24 captured English ships, loaded with 2 to 300,000 pounds of booty and many prisoners fit for ransom. On the way, they encountered a large Anglo-Portuguese fleet with which they engaged in a fierce combat. At the end of the naval battle, in which the French had again had the upper hand, they managed to take another ship from the English which was renamed La PETITE-TAVERNIÈRE. [The little tavern-keeper girl.]

Source & Readings ♦*Paston Letters*, ed. James Gairdner, vol. II (London: Rolls Series, 1904). (Contains references to French raids on the Kent coast and military readiness in the 1450s.) ♦*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. V (London, 1783). Parliamentary petitions and complaints arising from French coastal attacks, including Sandwich. ♦***Jean Chartier***, *Chronique de Charles VII* (Paris, 1661). (Mentions French naval operations in the 1450s under Pierre de Brézé.) ♦***Enguerrand de Monstrelet***, *Chroniques*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq (Paris, 1857–62). (Notes Franco-English hostilities and raids of the 1450s). ♦***A. F. Pollard***, *The Wars of the Roses* (London: Macmillan, 1914), esp. pp. 77–78 (for context of English coastal vulnerability). ♦***Anne Curry***, *The Hundred Years War* (London: Macmillan, 2003), chap. 11. (Good overview of late-war French raids, including Kentish targets.) ♦***David Nicolle***, *The Fall of English France 1449–1453* (Osprey, 2007). (For background on Pierre de Brézé's naval capability.) ♦***C. L. Kingsford***, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913). (Mentions the raid and the burning of Sandwich by Brézé.) ♦***Susan Rose***, *Medieval Naval Warfare 1000–1500* (London: Routledge, 2002). (Useful context for the French coup-de-main tactics of the period.) ♦***William Page*** (ed.), *Victoria County History of Kent*, vol. III (London, 1926). (Contains a concise narrative of the 1457 attack and destruction of the town.)

Capture of Scarborough

Date of the Engagement: April 1557.

Location: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. 54° 1 7' North; Off 24' West.

Conflict: Anglo-Scottish War; French participation. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V (Charles Quint) had resumed in 1551.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: As a response to English raids on coastal villages in France, the French provoked a sedition in England. The capture of Scarborough (April 1557) was a brief but significant episode in the tense prelude to the Anglo-French War of 1557–1559, during the reign of Mary I Tudor-Plantagenêt of England.

Historical Background: Mary Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henry II de Valois the King of France. In early 1557, England —under Mary I and her husband Philip II of Spain— was drifting toward war with France. Relations had worsened because: **1)**The English had allowed Spanish troops to use English ports and ships against France. **2)**English privateers and coastal raiders attacked French shipping and villages along the English Channel coast. **3)**The French, already supporting anti-Spanish forces in Italy, sought to destabilize England internally.

Summary of the Action. *The French Response:* To retaliate for these English raids, the French decided on a covert operation to

embarrass and alarm England. They supported Thomas Stafford, a young English exile *with Plantagenêt blood* (grandson of the Duke of Buckingham) who had fled to France. On April 18th, 1557, Stafford (a Plantagenet) landed at Scarborough Castle in Yorkshire with about 30 French soldiers. He proclaimed himself the "Protector of the Realm" and claimed that Queen Mary had betrayed England to Spain. The plan, encouraged by French agents, was to provoke a local uprising against the Marian regime. Thomas Stafford was the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham and nephew of Cardinal de La Pole. He landed a hundred French and English adventurers in the North-East of England. they took the fortress of Scarborough by surprise. A troop scaled the wall, seized the guard-post of a door, and opened it to the others. Stafford, totally intoxicated by his success, proclaimed himself... Nothing less than... *King of England!* But at the end of April, the provincial militia overthrew *this king with a foot of clay.*

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown. Stafford was executed by the English.

Aftermath and significance of this engagement: The scheme failed almost immediately. The local garrison and *townspeople recaptured the castle within three days.* Stafford and his followers were taken to London, where he was executed for treason on May 28th, 1557. The Capture of Scarborough was a French-sponsored plot intended to provoke sedition in England in retaliation for English raids on the French coast. It failed militarily but succeeded in pushing England into open war with France later that year. The affair had two main effects: It deepened (if possible) English hostility toward France, convincing Mary and Philip that war was inevitable. It provided a pretext for England to declare war on France (June 7, 1557), aligning with Spain.

Source & Readings: ♦**Holinshed, Raphael.** *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* London: Henry Bynneman, 1577; expanded 1587. (Brief notices of northern disorders and coastal fortifications during Mary I's reign.) ♦**Stow, John.** *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England.* London: 1605; later editions. (Mentions the Scarborough conspiracy and castle seizure under Thomas Stafford.) ♦**Froude, James Anthony.** *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, vol. 6. London: Longman, 1860s. — Narrative account of the 1557 Scarborough affair, Thomas Stafford's Spanish-backed landing, and rapid recapture. ♦**Loades, David.** *Mary Tudor: A Life.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1989. (Context for the political climate of early 1557, anti-Spanish dissent, and the Scarborough incident.) ♦**MacCaffrey, Wallace.** *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. (Excellent analysis of Anglo-Spanish tensions and the Stafford conspiracy.) ♦**Williams, Penry.** *The Tudors.* London: Penguin, 1979. (Short but reliable summary of the Scarborough seizure and its significance.) ♦**Guy, John.** *Tudor England.* Oxford University Press, 1988. (Provides broader political context for the rebellion and its swift suppression.)

Raid on the island of Sark.

Date of the Engagement: 27 July 1549. Most modern summaries place the landing around 31 July 1549; this date (27 July) likely refers to the fleet sailing or the opening phase of the operation before the actual landfall.

Location: Sercq in French, island of the Channel Archipelago. Geographical coordinates: 49°26' north latitude, and 02º21' west longitude.

Conflict: French participation in the Anglo-Scottish War.

Historical Background: Henry II de Valois was the King of France and Edward VI Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. France and England were still officially at peace since June 17th, 1546, but there was only one week of "peace" left. Indeed, on August 8th, 1549, France declared war on England. The war between France and the Empire of Charles V [which included the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish Empire combined] was temporarily suspended, at least until 1551. The Regent of Scotland, the Frenchwoman Marie de Guise, had launched an appeal to France, which had sent an Expeditionary Corps in June 1548.

Opposing Comanders ♦*English*: Captain Wynter. ♦*French*: François du Breuil.

Opposing Forces ♦400 *French* soldiers landed. In fact, the French squadron numbered more than 2,000 men. ♦The *English* squadron carried 2,000 men.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The objective was to seize a forward base in the Channel that would threaten Jersey and Guernsey, harass English shipping and sea-lines to Boulogne and Calais, and force England to divert troops during a moment of domestic unrest. Henry II's French policy in summer 1549 was to reopen war and push the English out of northern France (Calais/Boulogne). Occupying a Channel Island (Sark) helped "divide and stretch English forces" while menacing the other islands. In short, Sark was taken to be a stepping-stone and privateering outpost that pinned the Channel Islands and disrupted England's Channel logistics while France focused on regaining Boulogne.

Summary of the Action: On 27 July, a French squadron[316] landed troops on the island of Sark. 400 Frenchmen landed, commanded by François du Breuil. They occupied the island and transformed it into a fortress, bristling with forts.[317] The French landed a garrison and built small forts on Sark so it could serve as a permanent raiding post against the neighboring islands and nearby routes. Contemporary and later accounts place the landing and fortification of Sark in late July 1549 (often given as the last days of July), consistent with this strategy. The rare indentations on the coast: the roadstead of L'Eperquerie, the entrance to La Coupée and the promontory overlooking the Bay of Dixcart. The English squadron under Captain Wynter (2,000 men) made no attempt to hinder the work of the French.

[316] Composed of 10 galleys, 8 light ships of the fleet and a logistics transport loaded with tools and bricks.
[317] 0r rather blockhouses or casemates.

Casualties & Losses ♦Unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat, the installation of this solid stronghold by the French allowed *coups-de-main* against the other Channel Islands. The island was recaptured from the French in July, 1558, by a Dutch warship, and restored to the English. The French garrison of 30 men was surprised in its sleep. At night, the Dutch sailors crossed La Coupée and entered the Fort de l'Eperquerie.

Source & Readings ♦**de Carteret, Allan R.** *The Story of Sark: The Island Where Time Stands Still.* London: Peter Owen, 1956. (Still the fullest narrative account; describes the 1549 French expedition (fleet from Le Havre under Léon Strozzi, ~400 men, landing late July, fort-building, garrison). ♦**Nicolle, E. T.** The Capture of Sark by the French in 1549 and its Re-capture in 1553 by a Flemish Corsair." *Annual Bulletin of La Société Jersiaise* (1925). (Primary-historiography study using island archival material; key for names, sequence, and political context.) ♦**Jerripedia (Channel Islands encyclopedia).** Early French Attacks." (Good concise reference noting Captain François Breuil/Bruel's 1549 seizure of Sark within the broader Henry II strategy.) ♦**Guernsey Donkey (local history essays).** "When Sark Was a Pawn in International Politics" and "Sark: A Potted History." Summarize the landing force, creation of forts, and the island's vulnerability in the Anglo-French war cycle. Useful for quick cross-checks.

Coup-de-main on the island of Sark, late July 1549. Panorama of Sark's jagged cliffs and narrow coves: steep granite headlands dropping to a churning Channel sea, cross-hatched surf smashing against rocks. Foreground: a French raiding force landing from galleys and small troop-boats—about a dozen boats pulled onto shingle; soldiers in Valois-era morions, brigandines, and puffed sleeves rushing up a goat-track with pikes, arquebuses, and a few light falconets on sledges; fleur-de-lis standards snapping in the wind. Mid-ground: French engineers and pioneers already throwing up rough earthworks and palisades on a high point above the landing bay; gabions, spades, fascines, and a small cannon emplacement firing a starburst muzzle-flash out to sea. Scattered island defenders/pirates retreating toward inland rocks and scrub. Background: the French squadron offshore—11 galleys and accompanying sailing ships in tight

linear rig detail, oars out, lateen sails canted; smoke curls from one broadside aimed at the shore.

Combat of the Six

Other name: Battle of Thérouanne.

Date of the Engagement: 22 July 1543

Location: Thérouanne, now a village in the Pas-de-Calais located 10 km from Aire-sur-La-Lys and barely signposted on the Calais freeway, was once a thriving town that was annihilated in 1553 by Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire. The latter, angry at so much obstinacy against him, put all its inhabitants to the sword after their heroic defense[318]. Geographical coordinates: 50° 38' North latitude, and 02º 15' East longitude.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V. War of Scottish Independence.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. On July 20, 1543, Monseigneur de Villebon, captain and governor of Thérouanne, learned of the offensive of the English who numbered 2,000 cavalry, and 9 to 10,000 footmen, preceded and guided by a certain number of Burgundians commanded by Monsieur Claude de Tannay, lieutenant of the Count of Espinay, and by the captains

[318] It was doubtless all his crimes against humanity which, in his old age, tormented Charles Quint to the point of obsession, so much so that he gave up power to take up the cloak and take refuge in a monastery in Spain. It should be remembered that he had been King of Spain (which was a World Empire) and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

of Gravelines and Mieulet. Villebon gathered a troop with local lords: 500 "pedestrians" [piétons or infantrymen], 100 men-at-arms, then 1,500 footmen who concentrated at the Neuf-Fosses, on the marches [the limits] of Flanders, an area of approach and passage difficult because of the swamps and fences. Nevertheless, the English column of 11 or 12,000 men forced the passage guarded by 1,000 French infantry, then set fire to houses and mills within a radius of 20 km. The English arrived at 15 km from Thérouanne. There, the two armies decided to settle the dispute—or rather the conflict—by fighting "*at the Curiace*", with each army providing only six strong representatives.

Opposing Commanders ♦The seigneur of Menesville, brother of the governor, commanded the French. ♦Master "Carro", captain of the horsemen and gentleman of the bedchamber of the King of England, led the English. Field Marshal Thomas Sissime commanded the entire English army.

Opposing Troops engaged ♦*English*; about 11,000 men; see "Strategic and Tactical Considerations". ♦The French numbered 2,100 men. But, in fact, each nation was represented by only six combatants.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Needless to say, given the great imbalance of forces involved, it was in the interest of the French to settle the conflict by a fight —almost singular— Curiatii's style, six against six, and it seems quite surprising that the offer was made by the English themselves. The two troops of six men-at-arms faced each other two by two. It was a series of simultaneous single combats. The current village of *Thérouanne*, in the Pas-de-Calais, was once a large town and even an important

episcopal city in the north of France. In the Middle Ages, Thérouanne (Teruanum in Latin) was the religious capital of Morinie, a vast diocese that extended over part of Flanders, Artois and Boulonnais. The bishop of Thérouanne exercised great influence there, and the town was fortified, prosperous, and endowed with an imposing cathedral. It was a major economic and ecclesiastical center of the county of Flanders, crossed by the river Lys. Its power came to an end in 1553, when Emperor Charles V (Quint), at war with France, had Thérouanne razed to the ground, in order to take 'revanche' and to prevent any reuse of its fortifications by the French.

Summary of the Action. In their invasion movement which preceded the battle, the English advanced in battle array. First marched the *marshal of the camp*, Thomas Sissime, with 100 men-at-arms and 200 varlets, mounted on light horses and provided with jacks[319], and armed with small lances, without vamplate like pikes[320]. Then followed *the* ***Vanguard***, 27 ranks of arquebusiers with nine abreasts, 43 ranks of archers, 54 ranks of pikemen, then 32 ranks of men armed with pruning hooks[321], holding it with two hands, in the middle of which stood seven ensigns. This was followed by 54 other ranks of pikemen, 43 ranks of archers and 15 ranks of arquebusiers. Next to this vanguard advanced 2 half-cannons and 4 small pieces of field artillery. The ***Centre*** included logistical transport: three trolleys loaded with finances [the *sinews of war*] for the smooth running of the camp. Two wagons of barrels

[319] **Jaque or jacque or jacks** = Textile with sometimes small plates : Main armor for infantry, later confused with mail [mailles] by antiquarians. **Cotte de mailles** = Interlinked metal rings : Main armor for knights (worn over gambeson). **Gambeson** = Padded textile only, Under-armor, shock absorption, worn under mail or plate

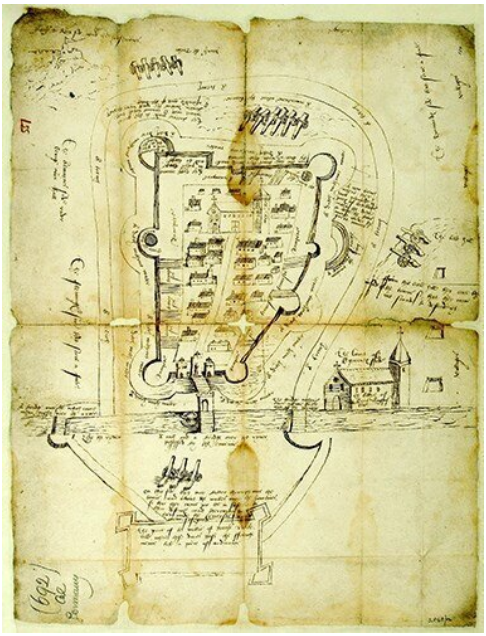
[320] The vanplate is the **circular or conical guard** in front of the grip that stops the opponent's weapon from sliding down onto the hand.

[321] De bilez.

of gunpowder followed, with four carts of cannonballs and one loaded with personnel[322]. Then came three chariots of bows and arrows, two of pikes, 20 of spears, 20 of pruning hooks, and 20 of darts shod at both ends, to fence the camp when the army was bivouacking or to serve as an obstacle to the cavalry in case of a pitched battle. This was followed by the numerous baggage carts, as well as two units of 600 horses. The ***Rearguard*** was composed like the vanguard. In the queue, 500 Cavalry. This impressive column entered the Boulonnais, where the English burned 10 or 12 large villages as they passed [323], which had the mistake of being in their path and of belonging to the Count de Boulogne, to whom, precisely, the King of England wished to show his anger and disapproval. This was incompatible too (according to Sun Tzu) with the English desire to annex the region.The next morning at about 08:00, the alarm was given to Thérouanne. The garrison made sorties both on foot and on horseback, and there were many broken lances. Single or small group fighting continued *after breakfast* [Sic![324]] and the English had to use artillery to repel the sortie. The French arquebusiers killed many Englishmen. The French artillery forbade any approach to the assailants. In the evening, the seigneur

[322] The "bombardiers" or gunners. Flécheurs or fléchiers used to make arrows (in English fletchers.)
[323] Throwing the surviving populations into the fields.
[324] In fact, *petit-déjeuner* is breakfast, *déjeuner* is dinner at noon, and *souper* is evening supper.

de Billetière with twenty cavalry and a few infantry came to challenge them in front of their entrenched camp, but the English did not come out. Emboldened, the seigneur [lord] Domynoys had an arquebuse fired into the English tents. The French advanced a double cannon named Madame Dayre, which fired into their tents,



which had been pitched above Delettes, two kilometers from the city. Then a troop of Englishmen arrived, carrying a letter to Monsieur de Villebon, governor of Thérouanne, proposing to send six gentlemen the next day at 09:00 to fight six Englishmen. Cartel [325] was accepted. The combat was to take place above Villers, halfway between the city and the English camp. Ten other gentlemen accompanied the six men-at-arms who were to fight. The French were commanded by the lord of Menesville, brother of the governor and the English by Master

[325] Cartel, n.m. provocation to a duel by means of a card. The panicked fear of losing everything with a single roll of dice [Strategist Syndrome before the battle] makes many generals or admirals back down. This fear, which engenders cowardice and refusal to fight in leaders who are unable to control themselves, is the cause of many defeats; especially in the navy, where the chief knows that if he loses his ship, he will probably not be given a Second chance.

"Carro", *Captain of Horsemen*[326] and gentleman of the bedchamber of the King of England. The battle was extremely ferocious. Each man-at-arms faced a single enemy. They attacked each other separately; it was a series of single combats. Charles de Laubier then attacked Master Carro. At first, Carro's horse, very stubborn, refused to advance; but after a moment's hesitation, all went well. They all broke their lances. Some horses were killed. Finally, the French offered to combat the English in a second battle. But the English refused because their honor was safe.

Casualties & Losses ♦None of the combatants were killed.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: During this battle, the English army had drawn up in battle with a view to preparing for any eventuality and had gone to camp at Estrée-la-Blanche, near Aire-sur-La-Lys, and, from there, in Hainaut[327] or the Lord of Reulx was waiting for them.

Source & Readings ♦***Hector Beaurepaire Piers***, *Histoire de la ville de Thérouanne, ancienne capitale de la Mori*nie.. ♦***François Blary*** et ***Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher,*** *« Thérouanne, une ville médiévale disparue : la question des fortifications* », Places fortes des Hauts-de-France, Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2018. ♦***Honoré Bernard***, *La reprise des fouilles de*

[326] Captain of cavalry.

[327] In order to join the Burgundian army. Hainaut takes its name from La Haine, a local waterway. One of its tributaries is La Trouille; Hatred and fear, two feelings that were very widespread on the great battlefields of the time. The results of this fight were rather psychological on both armies. But is not the destruction of the enemy's morale [or his will] one of the means of victory, ♦according to Carl von Clausewitz: to destroy his military forces, ♦to conquer his territory, ♦to curb his will or his power.

Thérouanne, vol. 176, t. 44, coll. « Revue du Nord », octobre-décembre 1962. ♦*La prise et deffaicte des Angloys par les Bretons devant la ville Barfleu*, 1543. Prudhomme, Saint-Brieuc, 1858.♦

Siege of Tournai

Date of the Engagement: 16-25 September 1513.

Location: Today in Belgium. At that time in the domain of the King of France, although the Emperor claimed possession of it. Geographical coordinates: 50°36' north latitude, and 03°23' east longitude.

Conflict: War of the Holy League. England joined on November 13th, 1511. War of the League of Cambrai[328].

Historical Background: Louis XII de Valois was the French King, and Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. Pope Julius II had leagued against Louis XII of France: the Empire of

[328] League of Cambrai, formed Dec. 10, 1508, an alliance of Pope Julius II, the Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I, Louis XII of France, and Ferdinand II of Aragon, ostensibly against the Turks but actually to attack the Republic of Venice and divide its possessions among the allies. Mantua and Ferrara, both of which had lost possessions to Venice, were included in the league and were promised that their territories would be restored. Despite pledges to the contrary, the four allies were unable to act together because of their individual ambitions. The only significant military operation was the French victory over Venice on May 14, 1509, at Agnadello, east of Milan, on territory ceded to Venice by France a few years earlier. Pope Julius, who had not joined the league until March, recovered the cities in the Romagna that Venice had seized after the death of Pope Alexander VI; Maximilian took Verona, Vicenza, and Padua in Lombardy; and Ferdinand received back territory in Apulia, in southern Italy, including the port of Brindisi. The league collapsed in 1510, when the pope switched sides and joined with Venice, while Ferdinand, satisfied with his gains, became neutral. By October 1511 Pope Julius had succeeded in bringing Ferdinand into alliance with Venice in the Holy League directed against French power in Italy. Venice subsequently fell into decline in international affairs, despite the failure of the other powers to dismember its small empire.

Germany, Spain, England, Veneto [Venice], Switzerland, Tuscany (Florence) and Ligurie (Genoa). But soon, the separate treaties of March 23 and April 1st, 1513, rid France of two powerful adversaries: Venice and Spain. Strongly desirous of the conquest of Tournai and Tournaisis in the secret hope of adding these new territories to the possessions of the Dutch of his grandson the Archduke Charles, the cunning Maximilian of Austria, who wished to have the *chestnuts drawn from the fire by the English*, strongly exhorted Henry VIII of England[329] to lay siege to the city of Tournai. He naively expected that the difficulties which the young king of England (22) would encounter in the preservation of his future conquest would make him renounce it to his advantage. The rather considerable distance between Calais [an English city] and Tournai, the difficulties of supplying the latter place with logistics, the ease of a sudden attack on the part of the French, the uselessness of the possession of this city for England, all led Henry VIII to hesitation[330]. Informed of the situation by his spies, Louis XII of France informed Tournai, on September 1st, 1513, that the city was going to be besieged and ordered the fortifications and the stocks of *ammunition for food and armament to be put in order*[331].

Opposing Troops engaged. ♦*French*: There was no garrison of professional soldiers. The population alone defended the city.

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[329] King of France and England according to the official title which the kings of England retained until the beginning of the nineteenth century.
[330] According to the English author Cruickshank, Henry VIII, who had just turned 22, sought only glory by seizing Tournai. It was a personal challenge; he had taken it into his head to get rid of it.
[331] This expression was widely used by the military of this time, until the nineteenth century.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Henry VIII of England placed 12 artillery pieces in battery, ironically nicknamed *The Twelve Apostles.* He promised the people of Tournai that if they opened their gates within ten days, no harm would be done to their persons or their property. Otherwise, everything would be set on fire and blood, and their property confiscated. The inhabitants therefore knew that the soldiers would have *carte blanche* if they had to fight to enter the city. This criminal custom lasted until the end of the sixteenth century and the Anglo-Portuguese continued it during the Peninsular War[332], under the First French Empire. As usual, only the common people, who had less to lose, wanted to resist. On 10 September, the people of Tournai, learning of the arrival of the English army, demolished the houses near the gates and set fire to the suburbs and two abbeys outside the walls to clear the angles of fire. The walls were of poor quality although they had 99 towers. Fortress artillery was obsolete and ineffective.

Summary of the Action: The siege officially began on September 16. The women and children brought to the ramparts the materials necessary to remedy the bad fortifications when the men were watching over the defense or working on the repair of the walls. No one was sitting idle. On the 17th, the *Porte de Valenciennes* and the *Porte de Lille*[333] were cannoned. On the 18th, the high tower of Blandin was already in danger of ruin. But on that day too, the inhabitants learned that Jean d'Estable and Nicolas d'Aubermont, at the head of 1,500 or 1,600 French cavalry, would try to enter the place at nightfall. But this troop could not force the Anglo-Allied

[332] Or Spanish and Portuguese War [1808-1814].
[333] or Coquerelle

lines. As only a few days of cannonade had ruined the ramparts, a new approach was made on 21 September to the Anglo-Allies to obtain a status of neutrality and to negotiate the surrender of the city, while the English artillery continued to knock down whole sections of the wall. But who should they go to now? To the Emperor of Germany or to Henry VIII who also bore the title of King of France? Both delegations were present. Finally, it was decided in the City Council to surrender to the "King of France and England" Henry VIII; to the great disappointment of the English infantrymen and the German and Dutch mercenaries who had expected an assault followed by traditional looting, rape of women, drinking parties, and "pigeon shooting" on the recalcitrant protesters who protested against these abuses. The disappointment was acute among His Britannic Majesty's soldiers.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown.

Aftermath and significance of this French defeat: Following the peace treaty, ratified on 23 September by Henry VIII, Tournai was occupied by the troops of the King of England, but only in his capacity as "King of France". The people of Tournai —happy to be able to take advantage of this political "trick"— had to swear allegiance to Henry VIII. The latter made his triumphal entry into Tournai on Sunday, September 25th, 1513, 10 days after the beginning of the investment. Tournai remained an English town for six years, until 1519.

Source & Readings ♦**Hall, Edward.** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548). (Tudor chronicle describing Henry VIII's 1513 campaign, including

the siege and capture of Tournai.) ♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Ed. ***J.S. Brewer*** et al. 21 vols. London, 1862–1932. (Documentation: diplomatic dispatches, military correspondence, logistics of the Tournai siege.) ♦**Guicciardini, Francesco.** *Storia d'Italia.* Books covering 1512–1513. (Italian humanist perspective on the wider War of the League of Cambrai and the English intervention.) ♦**Gairdner, James.** *Henry VIII* (1890). (Clear treatment of the 1513 campaign, its strategy, and the political value of Tournai's capture.) ♦**Richardson, Glenn.** *The Field of Cloth of Gold* [Le Camp du Drap d'Or] (2013), esp. ch. 2. (Contextualizes Henry VIII's early French ventures, including the siege of Tournai.) ♦**Anglo, Sydney.** *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (1969). (Analyzes the propaganda value of the 1513 victories, including Tournai's symbolic importance.) ♦**Cruickshank, C.G.** *The English Campaign in France 1513* (2001). (Best modern monograph on the military operations at Thérouanne and Tournai; detailed on artillery, siegecraft, and troop composition.) ♦**Potter, David.** *Henry VIII and Francis I: The Final Conflict* (2022). (Gives updated historiography on Anglo-French conflict; situates Tournai in the rivalry of the two monarchs. ♦**Foulkes, Charles.** *The Armourer and His Craft* (1912). (Background on English weapons and armour used during the siege.) ♦**de Vries, Kelly.** Articles in *Journal of Medieval Military History* on early 16th-century artillery and siege warfare. (Provides technical context for the heavy guns used at Tournai in 1513.)

Tournai Priv.Coll.

Siege of Le Tréport

Date of the Engagement: end of August 1523.

Location: Le Tréport, a French port located 30 km N-E of Dieppe, at 50°04' North latitude and 01°22' East Longitude.

Conflict: War between France and the House of Austria. Second phase of the War of the Holy League.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. After the failure of the *Calais Conference*, Pope Leo X, Henry VIII of England, and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V signed a secret treaty of coalition against France [November 24, 1521]. The coalized undertook to attack France simultaneously through the Pyrenees, the Alps and Picardy in March 1523. On May 29th, 1522, Henry VIII of England declared war on France. After a coup-de-main against Morlaix, an English fleet headed for Le Tréport.

Opposing Commanders ♦The English squadron was commanded by Vice-Admiral William FitzWilliam. The landing column by Captains Brian, Hopton and Cary. ♦French: Pierre Poullain, mayor of Eu; Jean Bournel de Tiembronne; Eustache Le Vasseur des Landes.

Opposing Forces engaged ♦The English squadron consisted of 36 large ships and transports. The landing column: 15,000 men.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The English attacked in three columns, then were counter-attacked and repulsed. They re-embarked having only succeeded in setting fire to the suburbs of Le Tréport, a flotilla of boats in the harbor and three ships at anchor.

Summary of the action: "In the month of August 1523[334], on the Sunday, day and feast of Saint Bartholomew, the English attempted a raid on Le Tréport, but they were vigorously received and had to withdraw without having done too much damage and after having suffered serious losses. This success was due to the energy of Pierre Poullain, lord of Huberville, mayor of the city of Eu. "In 1523, on the Sunday of August twenty-fourth, the day and feast of Saint Bartholomew, many large sails of English ships were seen, between three and four o'clock, in the roadstead of Tresport, which wanted to attack the said Tréport. Suddenly, the mayor of the city of Eu, warned of the attack around 4 o'clock, rang the big bell and armed the citizens, to go and rescue Le Tréport. He himself set out in person with a large number of aldermen, burghers, and ordinary citizens of Eu. He also sent the city's artillery, ammunition and servants..." At sunrise the English and other men of war embarked in their canoes and barges with their arms and ensigns, and began to row towards the centre of the harbor. The boats, separated into three divisions, headed for three different points in order to disperse the defenses. From the coast, the *communiers* rained down on them a hail of arrows. In spite of this, the attackers of the first two barges managed to land and furiously attacked the

[334] Wrote P. Laffleur de Kermaingant.

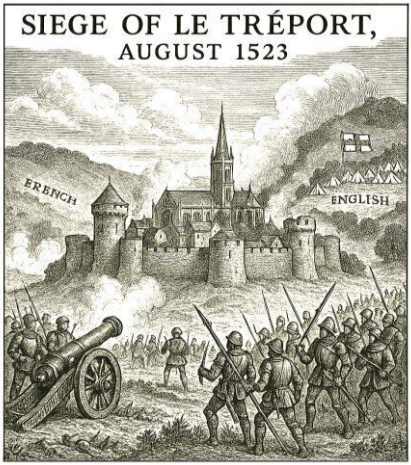
communiers[335] on the flank, who had to retreat towards Le Tréport. The Royal Navy's embarked artillery supported the attack, so that it became difficult for the French communiers to take cover. The English who had landed formed a diamond formation and advanced, soon joined by other English units landed near the suburb of Enguennerie, near Mesnival, and set it on fire. But they did not find the slightest booty there, for the inhabitants who lived there had taken care to move their belongings. The English therefore abandoned this suburb and put themselves in order to rush against Le Tréport. It was at this moment that the French artillery suddenly came into action, and the English had to retreat. At this moment, a man named Jean Bournel, esquire, baron of Tiembronne, arrived, with Eustache Le Vasseur, himself esquire, lord of the Landes, accompanied by their soldiers and followed by a large number of volunteers eager to drive out the English. As soon as they had made their junction, they joined the *communiers* [city milice or national guard] in launching a counter-attack against the English, who turned back and retreated. In the violent melee, many Englishmen were killed on the spot and many others drowned while trying to re-embark. A Portuguese, who was then on board an English ship, revealed that the English had suffered losses of 250 killed and drowned and many wounded, several of whom had died of their wounds.

Casualties & Losses ♦*English*: a thousand men including 250 killed. ♦*French*: Unknown.

[335] Soldiers of the Communes or Bourgeois Militia.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: It was a meagre result for such a deployment of troops.

Source & Readings: ♦**Du Bellay, Martin.** *Mémoires*. In *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*. Paris: Michaud, 1821–1827. (Contemporary French account of the campaigns of 1523–1525, including the coastal defense efforts under Bonnivet.) ♦**Letters & Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII**, vols. III–IV (1519–1523). London: HMSO, 1867–1900. (English diplomatic and military correspondence mentioning naval actions and raids along the Norman coast.) ♦**Hall, Edward.** *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and York* (Hall's Chronicle). London, 1548. (Tudor narrative covering Surrey's operations and the 1523 expedition against the Norman littoral.) ♦**Potter, David**. *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy 1470–1560*. Cambridge University Press, 1993. (Essential for French coastal defense policy, royal finances, and military administration. ♦Knecht, R. J. *Francis I*. Cambridge University Press, 1982. (Overview of Francis I's strategic difficulties during the Anglo-Imperial offensive of 1523.) ♦Loades, David. *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political, and Military History*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992. (Details English raiding operations and naval support along the Channel coast.)



Raid against Le Tréport.

Date of the Engagement: 2 September 1545.

Location: French port located 25 km N.-E. of Dieppe. Geographical coordinates: 50º04' North latitude, and 01° 22' East longitude.

Conflict: French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Francis I de Valois was the King of France and Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. In 1542, Mary Stuart had become Queen of the Scots.

Opposing Commanders ♦*English*: Admiral John Dudley[336].

Opposing Troops engaged ♦The British fleet consisted of 150 ships carrying 12,000 soldiers. Half, or 6,000, participated in the destruction of the city.

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[336] ***John Dudley*** (1504–1553) was one of the most powerful and ambitious statesmen of Tudor England. Born into a noble but politically troubled family—his father Edmund Dudley had been executed by Henry VIII—John rose through military service and royal favour. He distinguished himself in the naval war against France in the 1540s and gained the title of *Viscount Lisle.* Under Edward VI, Dudley's influence grew rapidly. After helping to remove the Lord Protector Edward Seymour, he effectively became the leader of the government and was rewarded with the titles *Earl of Warwick* and later *Duke of Northumberland*. As de facto ruler of England (1550–1553), he restored financial order, ended costly wars with France and Scotland, and promoted Protestant reforms. His attempt to control the succession brought about his fall: Dudley persuaded the dying Edward VI to name *Lady Jane Grey*—his daughter-in-law—as heir to the throne in place of Mary Tudor. When Mary gained widespread support and overthrew Jane Grey's brief nine-day reign, Dudley was arrested, tried for treason, and beheaded in August 1553.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: Admiral John Dudley took advantage of the absence of the French to strike Le Tréport. Shortly after the French fleet's victory at Boulogne on 15 August 1545, the French had set out for the Wales coast where they captured a few merchant ships, leaving the English Channel unprotected.

Summary of the Action: On 2 September, the English Admiral John Dudley landed half of his army at Le Tréport. The landing took place, according to the *Red Book of Eu*[337], at a place called Menival. His troops overthrew three ensigns[338] coastguards and deployed in battle array in anticipation of the counter-attack of the Dukes de Nevers and d'Aumale, while a detachment burned Le Tréport. That same evening, the English re-embarked to sail for Portsmouth.

Casualties & Losses: unknown. The abbey of Tréport was set on fire and blood. ♦On the way back, an epidemic of dysentery and scurvy broke out and killed 3,500 English soldiers [339].

Aftermath and significance of this French Defeat, reprisals were planned by the Marine Royale against the English coast. The cycle of violence continued unabated, in accordance with the biblical law of retaliation. Following this attack, François I had a large sandstone tower built in Le Tréport, which defended the entrance to the port and which survived until the middle of the twentieth century.

Source & Readings ♦**State Papers, Henry VIII**, vols. 20–21. (Numerous entries relating to Lord Lisle's 1545 coastal operations and the burning of Le

[337] See at the end
[338] Ensigns are troops, units, represented metonymically by their flag or ensign.
[339] According to the very indelicate expression of the chroniclers.

Tréport in early September.) ♦**The Cambridge Modern History, vol. II, ch. XIII. (**Brief account of Lord Lisle landing in Normandy in September 1545 and burning Tréport.) ♦**The Royal Navy: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present, vol. I. (**Mentions Lisle ravaging the French coast and destroying Tréport in the 1545 campaign.) ♦**Murphy, Neil.** *Violence, Colonization and Henry VIII's Conquest of France. Past & Present*, 2016. (Notes the English strike on Tréport during the September 1545 operations.) ♦**Murphy, Neil.** *Violence and the Campaign of 1544–1546***.** Cambridge University Press, 2019. (Detailed strategic and operational context of English raids along the Norman coast, including Tréport.) ♦Springer Studies on Tudor Warfare (PDF, link.springer.com). (Contains operational numbers for the raid on Tréport in early September 1545 (fleet muster and casualties).) ♦**Open Edition – *Origines des habitants et mouvements de population* (PURH). (**Notes demographic disruption around Le Tréport following the 1545 English landing and sacking.)

Coup-de-main against Le Tréport, 2 September 1545. Panorama of the chalk cliffs and the small port at the mouth of the Bresle river: clustered timber-framed houses, the harbour mole, fishing boats drawn up on the shingle. Foreground: English landing force under Lord Lisle rushing ashore from longboats — Tudor soldiers in morions and brigandines with pikes, bills, and a few arquebuses; several light falconets being dragged on sledges. Mid-ground: English troops pushing into the town, smoke rising from warehouses and the quayside; townspeople fleeing; a handful of French defenders firing from behind low stone walls. On the heights to the right: a small coastal watch-tower and beacons, with defenders signalling alarm toward Eu. Offshore: English warships riding partially at anchor—late-Henrician carracks and pinnaces with Cross of St George banners, some firing toward the harbour; starburst cannon-flashes, dense curled smoke rendered in tight cross-hatching. Sky with wind-lines and cloud-bands.

Attack on Wark.

Date of the Action: end of September - 4 November 1523.

Location: Scotland. Wark on Tweed is a village in Northumberland, England. It lies approximately 20km southwest of the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed and on the south bank of the River Tweed, which marks the border between England and Scotland.

Conflict: War between France and the Empire of Charles V. Second phase of the War of the Holy League.

Historical Background: Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt was the King of England and Francis I de Valois the King of France. Mary Stuart [1542-1587] or Mary, Queen of Scots, was the daughter of the Scotsman James V Stuart, King of Scots [1513-1542] and the Frenchwoman Mary de Guise de Lorraine who became Queen of Scots through her marriage. Mary Stuart was born at Linlithgow; she died beheaded at Fotheringay at the age of 45. At the age of six, she was promised to the Dauphin of France, Francis II[340] who was two years younger than her. They married in 1558, aged 14 and 16 respectively, and became King and Queen of France the following year, in 1559, at the ages of 15 and 17, But Francis II died in 1560 childless and Mary Stuart was widowed at the age of 18. Charles IX, brother of Francis I, succeeded him as Monarch of France. This union between the Courts of France and Scotland was

[340] Son of Henry II of France and Catherine de Medici.

to lead to a long and cruel war between England and France. In that year [1560], Mary de Guise and Lorraine [1515-1560], Mary Stuart's namesake and mother, died in Edinburgh. This Frenchwoman remained regent of Scotland from the death of her husband in 1542, the year of Mary Stuart's birth. Marie de Guise was therefore regent from 1542 to 1560. It was the terrible period of the *Wars of Religions*, in Great Britain as well as in France. During the brief reign of her first husband [Francis II of France], the maternal family of Mary Stuart[341] ruled France. Francis de Lorraine, uncle of Mary Stuart and second duke de Guise, had with his brother, the cardinal de Lorraine, the entire management of France's public affairs. This François de Guise or de Lorraine became the leader of the Catholic Party at the beginning of the Wars of Religion. Fanatic, he was himself assassinated by a Protestant named Poltrot-de-Mère. Widowed in 1560, Mary Stuart returned to Scotland to take over from her mother. She became Mary I of Scotland. But she had to fight both against the Reformation and against the secret manipulations of Queen Elizabeth I of England who sought to annex Scotland. Mary Stuart married successively to Henry Stuart, known as Lord Darnley, and then to Bothwell, Darnley's assassin. The latter marriage provoked an insurrection by the Scottish nobility and her abdication in 1567 in favour of her son, James. She then took refuge in England with Elizabeth I Tudor[342]. The son of Mary Stuart and Henry Stuart-Darnley thus became the King of Scotland James VI[343]. He did nothing to save his mother when Elizabeth wanted to end her life. A strong opportunist, James embraced Protestantism for political purposes and Elizabeth I of England made him his successor. James VI, King of Scotland, therefore combined the offices of King of England and Ireland under the name of

[341] The Guises of Lorraine
[342] Anglican, Elizabeth was herself the daughter of Anne Boleyn or Boulogne (a French family living in England) and Henry VIII of England. Anne was born in England.
[343] Who reigned from 1567 to 1625

James I[st] of England and Ireland [from 1603 to 1625]. He married a Frenchwoman named Henriette de France and engendered James II [Stuart] of England, who had the bad idea of converting to Catholicism, which sparked a new religious war in England[344]. But let's go back; the Treaty of Rouen of August 26, 1517, between France and Scotland obliged France to provide 2,200 soldiers to Scotland. In fact, André de Montalembert, lord d'Essé, ambassador of France, had gone to Scotland at the head of a French squadron, and, as we have said above, had asked for the hand of the young queen, aged 6, for the dauphin de France [afterwards called Francis II], who was of an even more tender age than herself (4 years old). The States of Scotland had ratified the marriage project of the two prince-children as well as the departure of Mary Stuart for France. The dowager queen of Scots stealthily conducted her to Dumbarton where the French admiral Villegagnon was waiting for her, with four galiots[345] intended to escort her to France. On August 20, the future queen made her triumphal entry into Morlaix, which had not yet been devastated by the English.

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[344] In 30 years, between **1534 and 1559**, the English had to adapt to **five official changes** : **1**♦1534 – Separation from Rome (Henry VIII): National Catholicism. **2**♦1549–1552 – Radical Protestantism (Edward VI). **3**♦1553 – Restored Catholicism (Mary Tudor) Roman Catholicism. **4**♦1559 – Anglicanism (Elizabeth I). . . Under the rise of Puritan and anti-Catholic pressures: **5**♦1570 (bull *Regnans in Excelsis*), Elizabeth attempted a middle line: the English Church gradually shifted towards a more assertive Protestantism with increased repression of Catholics. Some historians count this as a fifth internal change, even though it is not an official change in religion. To transform into sub-humans the Catholics of England and in the Empire, the British Government voted the ***Test Acts*** that were a series of English laws passed in the late 17th century that required anyone holding public office to be a member of the Church of England and to reject the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Passed during the reign of Charles II, these laws were designed to prevent Roman Catholics and other non-conformist Protestants from holding significant civil, military, and government positions. The Catholics could not buy the slightest piece of land, house, business, or office of officer. They had no right and duty but to shed their blood for England at war.

[345] Light rowing and sailing vessel.

Opposing Commanders ♦The French transport squadron was commanded by Vice-Admiral Lartigue (uncertain name). The Franco-Scottish army remained under the command of the Regent of Scotland, the Duke Stuart of Albany, regent since the death of the King of Scotland, James IV, massacred with 10,000 other Scots in the disastrous Battle of Flodden.

Opposing Troops ♦Numbers engaged in the French Transport Squadron: 87 ships of all sizes. *Franco-Scottish Army*: 5,000 infantry*, 1,000 gendarmes and 600 horses with an artillery parish.*

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: This strategic union between the courts of France and Scotland was to lead to a long war between England[346] and France.

Summary of the Action: Coming from Brest, the Franco-Scottish squadron landed on 24 September 1523 at Dumbarton [Scotland]. The French column marched to Edinburgh. The French Expeditionary Force assaulted the fortress of Wark with climbing ladders, when, on November 4, the flood and the unexpected arrival of a strong English relief army forced the Franco-Scots to lift the siege. On the orders of the Scottish Parliament, which feared the expense of wintering [sic!], the French troops had to re-embark in the coldest winter to be repatriated to France.

Aftermath and significance of this French Defeat, the Scottish Campaign of 1523 was sterile for all the belligerents: English, Scottish and French.

[346] Wishing to annex Scotland.

Source & Readings ♦♦*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, vol. 3–4 (1519–1523). London: HMSO. (Numerous dispatches from the northern marches reporting the 1523 campaign, Surrey's counter-measures, and mentions of Wark.) ♦Hall, Edward. *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548).— Tudor chronicle covering the Anglo-Scottish conflict during Henry VIII, including the 1523 raids. ♦State Papers Scotland, vol. 1. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House. (Correspondence relating to Albany and the Earl of Angus, including movements of Scottish forces.) ♦***Merriman, Marcus***. *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000. (Contextual background on Anglo-Scottish border warfare; includes discussion of earlier Tudor patterns of raiding such as 1523.) ♦***Sadler, John***. *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War 1296–1568*. Harlow: Pearson, 2005. (Narrative treatment of border conflicts; covers Douglas and Surrey's 1523 operations.) ♦***Loades, David***. *Henry VIII: War, Empire and Politics*. Oxford: OUP, 2014. (Strategic overview of Henry VIII's northern campaigns.)

Raid on the Isle of Wight.

Other name: Battle of the Solent.

Date of action: 20 July 1545.

Location: Dregs of the Atlantic Ocean located south of England, at 50º43' North latitude and 01º15' West longitude.

Conflict: French participation in the Scottish War of Independence.

Historical Background: Francis I de Valois was the King of France and Henry VIII Tudor-Plantagenêt the King of England. In 1545, Francis I had drawn up the project of seizing the *Isle of Wight*. At the battle of Portsmouth, on 18 July, the English fleet had been held in check by the French, and two days later the landing began without any Royal Navy[347] intervention.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The Isle of Wight would have been a bridgehead for the French, a Calais-style base in Britain, an excellent base from which to invade England from the south, and, primarily, a very interesting diversion that would have drawn the bulk of the English army away from Scotland, thereby relieving the Franco-Scots who were fighting in the north of the island. But

[347] The English navy became the Royal Navy during the fifteenth century. Until then, the Cinque Ports provided the nucleus of the navy, but their importance diminished in the same proportion as the king's ships became more numerous. [see section *Cinque Ports* in the General Directory, Volume I]

its defense would have required a real army, and strong and extremely costly fortifications. The invasion of the Isle of Wight from several distant points was highly effective in dispersing the defenses.

Summary of the Action: Having forced the English fleet to take refuge in the sandbanks, Admiral d'Annebaut landed, on 20 July, 2,000 men in three different sectors of the Isle of Wight. The ridge of the island's hills was occupied and the French burned down the houses that obstructed the angles of fire, hindered the defense in general, or could provide support-points for an English counter-attack **[1]** A first landing took place near an English fortification, whose cannons had densely bombarded the French galleys during the naval battle. It was a way to silence those batteries. As the French infantrymen approached, the English garrison abandoned the fort to escape. The fugitives were shot upon and decimated by the invaders. **[2]** Another French infantry unit, commanded by General Sieur de Tais and Baron de La Garde, also landed and invaded the country. Local peasants, more combative than the garrison of the fort, gathered to harass them and were defeated in several small battles. **3]** The third detachment[348] landed, plundered, and, finally, were harassed by a much larger *peasant force*, and retreated to the beach where the French naval guns covered them by blocking the crowd of overexcited peasants. The latter were then reinforced by English troops [Infantry and Cavalry] infiltrated into the island. French reinforcements landed in their turn, commanded by the Chevalier de Blacas d'Aulps[349], and finally, English troops

[348] Captains Marsay and Pierrebon
[349] Captain of the galleys of the Ponant

and peasants were routed, after having proceeded to demolish a bridge in order to delay the French. The latter were in possession of the Isle of Wight in its entirety.

Casualties & Losses ♦Blacas d'Aulps was killed during the last charge.

Aftermath and significance of this English defeat: Finally, the French, masters of the sector, thought of the gigantic costs and insurmountable difficulties of building fortifications around such a large island[350]. Even bad weather was getting in the way. Admiral d'Annebaut, who had control of the sea, decided to abandon the island. He spent the rest of the campaign cruising along the English coast, making occasional landings to devastate coastal towns and make booty.

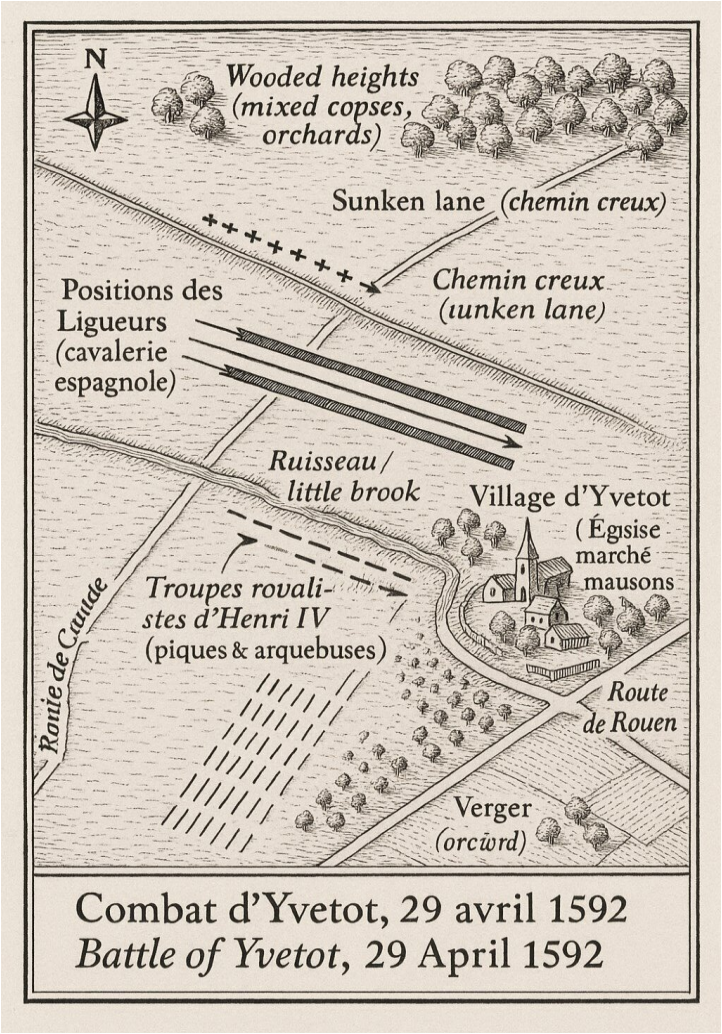
Source & Readings ♦**Wriothesley, Charles.** *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559.* Ed. W. D. Hamilton. 2 vols. Camden Society, n.s. 11 & 20. London, 1875–77. (Eyewitness London chronicle noting French landings and fires on the Isle of Wight.) ♦**Du Bellay, Martin & Guillaume.** *Mémoires.* Paris, 1569; modern eds./trans. various. (French campaign perspective on d'Annebault's 1545 operations.) ♦**State Papers, Henry VIII (Domestic & Foreign).** esp. July–August 1545 dispatches on the Solent campaign and Isle of Wight landings. (Calendar series, TNA.) ♦**Oglander, Sir John.** *Account book / commonplace book of Nunwell.* Isle of Wight Record Office, OG/AA/28. (Local gentry notes reused by later historians.) ♦**Scarisbrick, J. J.** *Henry VIII.* London: (rev. eds.), esp. ch. on 1545 crisis. (Standard narrative for the campaign.) ♦**Knecht, Robert J.** *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I.* Cambridge: CUP, 1994. (French strategic context for the

[350] This rough diamond-shaped island extends over 381 km^2. East-West dimensions, 36 km, and North-South 22 km. We realize how improvised such an important expedition could have been.

1545 armada.) ♦**Loades, David.** *Henry VIII and His Navy / The Tudor Navy.* (Any recent ed.). (Naval and coastal-defence framing linking Solent battle to the island raids.) ♦**Mary Rose Trust.** "Battle of the Solent / Tudor Militia and the 1545 Invasion." MaryRose.org resources. (Concise synthesis of fleet, militia response, and landings.) ♦**Isle of Wight local historical reviews.** Articles on the 1545 landings at Bonchurch, Sandown, Bembridge, St Helens. (Topography, local tradition, and site-specific detail.

French raid on the Isle of Wight, 20 July 1545, during the Battle of the Solent campaign. Panorama of the island's south-east coast: chalky cliffs and coves (Monks Bay / Bonchurch on the left; Whitecliff Bay and Bembridge Down to the right), with the Solent and Portsmouth faintly visible across the water. Foreground: French landing force surging ashore from galleys and troop-boats—Valois soldiers in morions, brigandines, and short cloaks, carrying pikes, bills, and arquebuses; a few light falconets dragged onto shingle. Cannon-flashes drawn as sharp starbursts, smoke in tight engraved curls. Mid-ground: English island militia and Hampshire levies under local captains forming on a slope—archers and billmen in jacks and sallets, some firing from hedgelines; a rough barricade of carts and stakes. Close combat at the foot of St Boniface Down: tangled pikes, fallen banners, horses rearing. Right mid-ground: newly built Sandown Castle offshore with scaffolding, tiny gunners replying; shot

splashes in the surf. Background: French armada riding at anchor off the coast—mixed galleys and sailing ships with fleurs-de-lis standards; fine cross-hatching for sea texture, banded Tudor-era clouds above. Overall look: dense line work, clear silhouettes, dramatic but historically grounded.



Battle of Yvetot.

Date of action: 29 April 1592.

Location: Village of Seine Maritime. Pays de Caux. Geographical coordinates: 49°37' North latitude, and 00º46' East longitude.

Conflict: Wars of the Holy Catholic League [French Civil War].

Historical Background: Elizabeth I Tudor-Plantagenêt was the Queen of England and Henry IV de Bourbon the King of France. Henry IV[351] left the camp of Gouy on 25 April, after having given the Duke de Montpensier command of the vanguard, that of the rearguard to Marshal de Biron, and having reserved for himself the main Army Corps[352]. On the 26th, he destroyed a detachment of Leaguers, sent to Martainville to reconnoitre its Royal Army, and slept at Fontaine-le-Bourg, a day's journey from Caudebec. The Duke de Mayenne, warned by Georges Bastide of the approach of this numerically superior army to his own, then understood the grave mistake he had committed in allowing himself to be shut up in the narrow peninsula of the Pays-de-Caux, between the Seine and the sea, under the guns of Dutch ships and royal fortresses such as Dieppe, Saint-Valéry and Quillebeuf. Alexander Farnese[353], who,

[351] Who had not yet abjured Protestantism.
[352] D'apres Hardÿ de Perini.
[353] Alexander Farnese, born in Rome, died at the Abbey of Saint-Waast in France [1545-1592]. He was a great captain in the service of Philip II of Spain and governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Called to France to the aid of the Catholics, he forced the King of

in spite of the sufferings of the wound, which was to carry him off, had retained all the lucidity of his military genius. Farnese wished that the Duke de Mayenne should retreat to Lillebonne, where the troops would draw their supplies from that harbor. But Mayenne did not consent to leave Caudebec, whose possession was the best safeguard for Rouen. He settled between Caudebec and Yvetot and built an *entrenched camp* on the plateau of Touffreville. However, on the 27th, the Royal Army —coming from Pavilly and in the direction of Duclair— had moved onto a steep road bordered by walls, but the distances between the three corps [vanguard, main body, rearguard] were so great that the vanguard could have been attacked and defeated in detail, without the main body of the troops or the rearguard being able to intervene. Count Alexander Sforza[354], came to give him notice about it, explaining to him all the advantage that could be derived from a sudden attack. "*To fight the King of Navarre,* replied the wounded man, *we need living bodies, and not men exhausted with blood and half dead like myself !*" He summoned, however, Rannucio[355], Mayenne, and the principal men of the army, to urge them to attack vigorously, if the opportunity presented itself. But the opportunity had passed; the King had passed through the defile without a fight. On the 28th, he took up a position opposite his adversaries, and, like them, covered his battlefront with entrenchments.

France, Henry IV., to raise the siege of Paris and that of Rouen. He died of the consequences of a wound received in front of Caudebec.

[354] The Duke of Parma was Alexander Farnese. Pope Paul III [a Farnese] had created this duchy for his son Peter Louis Farnese.

[355] Rannucio was the son of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma.

Opposing Commanders ♦Henry IV, Protestant King of France. ♦The Duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese.

Opposing Forces ♦The army of the Protestant King of France, Henry IV, numbered 18,000 French, English, Swiss, German, and Dutch infantry[356], with 20 cannons and a cavalry of 9,000 horses.

Strategic and Tactical Considerations: The speed of execution was the major element in the success of the French plan.

Summary of the Action: There were scarcely two kilometers between the two enemy lines, and, on the right of the [Protestant] Royals, a dense wood which the [Catholic] Leaguers had fortified. The Count of Bossut and his 3,000 Walloons oversaw it. On the 29th, the King had this wood attacked by the Baron de Biron, with 8,000 men of English, Dutch and German Infantry[357], whom he had supported by 600 Gendarmes, heavily armed. The assault lasted three hours, at the end of which the wood was carried away. The Walloons, seeing themselves forced, took refuge in disorder in the entrenched camp, after having lost more than 800 of their number, or more than a quarter of their numbers. On May 1st, Henri alia recognizes, in person, the district of Yvetot. Judging, from the *boute-selle*[358] and the cries of alarm he heard, that they were not well reassured, he rushed on Yvetot with 400 musketeers or pikemen and 1000 halberdiers armed with pistols, and attacked the town in pincers from several sides simultaniously. The Duke of

[356] They were literally *International Brigades of Protestantism*. The Protestant movement of this period can easily be compared to the communism of the twentieth century. Both were opposed to the established order, in reaction to abuses.
[357] In equal numbers to motivate them by national emulation.
[358] *Boute-selle*, n.m. invariable: trumpet blast ordering riders to kick [place] the saddle on the horse, and to strap it in order to leave as quickly as possible.

Parma, injured, who had not expected such quick offensive reaction, saw the moment when his entire vanguard was going to be put to the sword... He had himself carried in a litter to Yvetot, at the head of the Spanish army, to check the progress of the King of France, until all the troops of the vanguard had taken refuge in the entrenched camp [commanded by Sully]. Finally, Farnese evacuated the Yvetot camp on May 5, and began his retreat in the direction of Caudebec.

Casualties & Losses ♦unknown. Not even a mention. In those days, the lives of the *croquants*[359] counted for so little."

Aftermath and significance of this engagement: There were Frenchmen on both sides and the English fought alongside the supporters of the Protestant pretender to the throne of France [Henry IV]. However, Henri IV's campaign in the Pays de Caux against the Catholic League — had important tactical and strategic consequences. *Immediate consequences*: **1)** During the skirmishing of 28 April and the actions around the Wood of la Salle and the advance toward Yvetot, Henri IV gained the upper hand, forcing the League's vanguard to retreat and leaving the baggage and silver-service of the Dukes de Guise and Mayenne behind. **2)** Though it was not a full-scale pitched battle with massive casualties, the Catholic League lost about 600 men on the ground around Yvetot and took prisoners (including the young Baron de La Chastre) in the encounter. **3)** The result increased the morale of Henri's forces and damaged the perceived invincibility of the League's Normandy contingent. The *Strategic consequences* were: **1)** By

[359] *Croquants* = rebellious peasants/commoners in early France.

winning the initiative around Yvetot, Henri IV secured a stronger foothold in the Pays-de-Caux[360], which was critical to his operations against Normandy and in the ongoing siege of Rouen. **2)** The action forced the League to withdraw or reconfigure their positions: after the engagement Henri IV was able to rest his forces for several days to recover and resupply, while the Catholic League became more cautious in offering battle. **3)** It also highlighted the logistical strains on both sides: Henri wrote about his dwindling powder supply and the need for reinforcements, showing that even victories came at considerable cost. **4)** Politically, the success underlined Henri's capability to challenge the Catholic League even in their strongholds of Normandy, thereby helping bolster his legitimacy and weaken the League support in that region. In sum: the engagement at Yvetot did not by itself decide the war, but it tilted the local campaign in Henri IV's favour, improving his strategic position in Normandy, undermining the League's aura of dominance there, and setting the stage for further operations.

Source & Readings ♦**Pierre de L'Estoile**, *Registre-journal du règne de Henri IV* (ed. M. Lazard). Contemporary Parisian diarist; notes on the campaigns in Normandy during the Wars of the Catholic League. ♦**Agrippa d'Aubigné**, *Histoire Universelle* (1626). Eyewitness Huguenot narrative covering the campaigns of 1590-1592, including operations of the royalist forces under Montpensier and the League's French contingents. ♦**André Duchesne**, *Histoire des Choses Mémorables advenues durant le règne de Henri IV* (1643). (Early compiled sources on royal–League clashes in Normandy.) ♦**J. H. M.**

[360] The Pays de Caux is a natural region and a historic country of Normandy belonging to the Paris Basin. It is a plateau bounded south by the Seine River, to the west and north by the cliffs of the Alabaster Coast, to the east by the heights overlooking the valleys of the Varenne and the Austreberthe. The Pays de Caux is one of those old Gallic states, the one inhabited by the tribe of the Calètes, distant ancestors of today's Cauchois. Caux comes from Caletes.

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Battle of Yvetot, 29 April 1592, during the Wars of the Catholic League. View over the rolling hedged farmland of the Pays de Caux, with the small town of Yvetot and its church spire in the middle distance. Foreground: clash of royalist cavalry under the Duc de Montpensier against League infantry—helmeted horsemen in half-armour charging with pistols and long swords; League pikemen in morions and breastplates bracing their pikes, some firing arquebuses. Muzzle-flashes drawn as sharp starbursts; smoke rendered in tight engraved curls. Mid-ground: scattered hedgerows and sunken lanes where skirmishers exchange fire; a few fallen horses and broken lances. Background: gently rising fields cross-hatched in fine lines; small farmsteads, orchards, and a distant column of League troops retreating toward the forest edge. Sky filled with thin parallel cloud-bands typical of copper-plate work.

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